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6 weeks

Tom McGrath

This week saw the 50th anniversary of World War I commemorated with the expected spate of comments from politicians and newspapermen. Most of these comments came into the category of "the usual bunkum" but some of them revealed certain dangerous trends.

There was, for example, President de Gaulle's statement last Sunday in which he claimed that it was the unity of the French nation which made victory in World War I possible. Unless the President had a sudden lapse of memory, he was surely ignoring the facts that victory in World War I was achieved by American intervention, and the unity of the French nation in the war effort was, to say the least, questionable. The challenge made by French conscientious objectors to the war effort is not even taken into account by his statement.

To create a myth of French unity in wartime, de Gaulle is willing to re-write history; and successive French governments have been prepared to suppress

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To create a myth of French unity in wartime, de Gaulle is willing to re-write history; and successive French governments have been prepared to suppress views which contradicted the official views which contradicted the official truth. Two films about Frenchmen who refused to fight, Thou Shalt Not Kill and Paths of Glory, were banned in France. But the obscuring of issues through the telling of lies and the creation of myths does not only occur in connection with great events of the past. Recently President Johnson declared that he did not believe that good ends could justify bad means thereby reinforcing the myth means, thereby reinforcing the myth held by many Americans that American policies are based on Christian moral principles. Yet, to take only one example among many, President Johnson is willing to use very dirty means to achieve what he considers good ends in Vietnam. Once again, the myth-creating statement obscures the political reality.

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On a different level, less directly dangerous than the political, the popular press plays its part in the distortion of truth. Sensational reports such as the one which recently prompted Lord Boothby to make a statement to the press, are all too frequent. Facts are often manipulated to make a news angle. To a certain extent such sensationalist methods of reporting can be blamed on keeping certain facts from the public's a public which is willing to tolerate notice. This is a policy which fits in well method which lies because of what it fore, extremely important. does not say. For example, although If the lies made current by those who popular press, it almost certainly will cause for worry. Lies surrounded by



not be the subject of the same amount the truth are not too difficult to detect. of copy as was turned out on World War I. In part this is because the World War I commemoration is a 50th anniver-

But underplaying the reality of Hiroshima is part of a fairly consistent policy of them, but ultimately the blame must lie with attempts to convince the public with those who control the newspapers. that nuclear weapons are necessary. The There is, however, another method of efforts made by organisations such as concealing the truth which the public CND to bring the terrible truths of Hirocan have little control over. This is the shima to the public's notice are, there-

the commemoration of Hiroshima Day control communications were isolated this week will not go unnoticed in the from one another, there would be little

But frequently lies are so well employed and co-ordinated with one another that truth becomes almost impossible to as-

Reports on controversial issues such as the Cyprus situation are often confused and full of half-truths, precisely because those in a position to supply the truth are much more interested in proving themselves to be in the right. Too often it is in the interests of those who control the means of communication not to let the truth be known.

If those who write so firmly now of the horrors and absurdities of a war that began 50 years ago, were to apply the same firmness to contemporary events, important changes might take place. But this is a vain hope. What is being written now about the First World War would have been heresy if written closer to the event. It would have contradicted the official myths.

A comparable heresy of today is to write about the weaknesses and dangers in the concept of nuclear deterrence. Most of our present day journalists and politicians are too involved in the process of myth-making themselves to want to run the risk of supporting such a heresy.

Speaking at the weekend, President de Gaulle said that French victory in the First World War was due to the unity of the French nation. He did not mention the methods used to achieve this "unity", which included the shooting of hundreds of conscientious objectors and mutineers.

In 1916, three French soldiers were shot for cowardice after their company had failed in an impossible attack on the German positions. The men had been selected at random as examples; they were shot after a token trial, and after the war their relatives were granted derisory damages for the admitted injustice. Mood mov lie top neo

The American film, "Paths of Glory," which told the story of these men, was banned in France. The picture from the film (above) is of the men's execution.

IN THIS WEEK'S ISSUE

yer's Travels. Supplement on non-Alan Lovell on films Theodore Roszak on Goldwater Capa's images of war

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stamps please) Adverts to reach 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1 by first post Monday. Box No. replies to same address. Displayed advertisements rate on application.

Coming events

FIRST WORLD WAR anniversary. Socialist Party of Gt Britain, Public Meeting at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. "War, 1914-1918, SPGB." Wed. 12 August, at 8 p.m. Admission free, questions and discussion.

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WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD for August contains articles of special interest to all who oppose war. Send P.O. 2s for this issue and 100-page pamphlet on war in modern society, to Dept PN, Socialist Party of GB, 52 Clapham High St., London S.W.4.

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Diary

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select from notices sent in. To make the service as complete as possible, we urge organisers to:

- 1. Send entries to arrive not later than first post Monday (Friday preferred).
- 2. Include date, town, time, place (hall, street), nature of event, speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

To publicise full details, book a classified or displayed advertisement.

Remember to order copies of Peace News for your advertised meeting: Sale or Return. From: Circulation Dept., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

1-9 August, Sat-Sun

KESWICK. Barrow Group CND Camp, at Municipal Camp Site. March, meetings, leafleting, literature sales. Bring own tent.

6-8 August, Thurs-Sat

HARROW, Middx. St. John the Baptist Ch. Hiroshima-Nagasaki fast. Details: Linda Corderoy, N.W. Middx. C'ttee of 100, 3 Paignton Rd., Ruislip, Middx.

WATFORD. Hiroshima Vigils outside Peace Memorial Hosp., Town Hall, and in High St. Accommodation available for volunteers from outside area. Details: Dave Lambert, Watford 21643. CND, YCND, Campaign Caravan.

7 August, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND.

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea pro-vided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

WATFORD. 1 p.m. Factory Gate mtg. outside Sun Printers, Whippendell Rd. CND, YCND Campaign Caravan.

7-10 August, Fri-Mon

SOUTHALL, Middx. 6 p.m. Fri. 6 a.m. Mon. War Memorial. Hiroshima Nagasaki fast. Details: Jim Huggen, N.W. Middx, C'ttee of 100,

WATFORD. 8 p.m. Hertfordshire Arms, St. Albans Rd. Folk Song evening. Tony McCarthy and guests. CND, YCND.

8-15 August, Sat-Sat

WINCHESTER. King Alfreds College. Fellowship of Reconciliation Summer Holiday Conference. Details from 9 Coombe Road, New Malden, Surrey.

9 August, Sunday

BROMLEY. Meet Bromley South Station 10.15 a.m. for silent march and wreath-laying at War Memorial (Nagasaki Day). CND.

LONDON W.1. 3-4.30 p.m. Outside American Embassy, Grosvenor Sq. Poster picket. London C'ttee of 100.

WATFORD. Meet 10 a.m. Pedestrian Precinct for leafleting of church congregations with special leaflet. 2.30 p.m. Vicarage Road Ceme-tery. Planting of Nagasaki cherry-tree by Mayor of Watford. CND, YCND, Campaign

9-15 August, Sun-Sat

FRANKFURT/MAIN, Germany. Naturfreundehaus, nr. Offenbach. WRI Study Conference: The nonviolent solution of conflict, with special reference to Germany and Berlin problems. Details: WHI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx. LAB 3977.

10 August, Monday

LONDON N.1. 7.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross. Mtg. to form permanent Anglo-French peace movements liaison group, and to meet French members of current project. International Sub-c'tee of C'tee of 100.

LONDON W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. London C'ttee of 100 working group mtg.

12 August, Wednesday

LONDON W.1. 5.30-7 p.m. Outside American Embassy, Grosvenor Sq. Poster picket. London C'ttee of 100.

14 August, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND.

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea pro-vided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

15 August, Saturday

LEICESTER. 10 a.m. Gaumont Cinema, Market Place. Peace News selling. Contact David Lane, 1 Wentworth Road. Phone 21958.

LONDON S.E.3. 10 a.m. 141 Woolacombe Rd, Kidbrooke. All-day leafletting, literature sel-ling, canvassing. Phone LEE 6249. Fellowship

TWICKENHAM. 11 a.m. Kings Head, Twickenham Junc. Open air meeting, Michael Craft. Phone EAL 6520 or TED 4864. INDEC.

17 August, Monday

LONDON W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. London C'ttee of 100 working group meeting.

17-22 August, Mon-Sat

HAYWARDS HEATH. Elfinsward. APF conference: The last 50 years - the next 50 years?" Speakers: George Innes, Irene Jacoby, Francis Noble, Tom Scrutton, Paul Gliddon, Donald Reece. Details: 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.

29 August, 4 Sept, Sat-Fri

HYTHE, Kent. Movle Tower Youth Guest House. Movement for Colonial Freedom summer school. Details from MCF, 374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Summer Conference 1964

"Elfinsward," Haywards Heath, Sussex, from Monday 17 August to Saturday 22 August

Morning sessions: Tuesday, "A Backward Glance . . . and a forward look" by George A. Innes (Society of Friends) Wednesday to Friday, Discussion Groups on present and future activities.

Evening sessions: Monday to Thursday "1914" the Rev Canon T. B. Scrutton (APF)

"Early Experiences" the Rev Paul Gliddon (APF)

"Reconciliation between East & West" Miss Irene Jacoby (Friends Peace Com-

"Should we imitate the Crucified?" the Rev Donald Reece (APF)

Friday, Summary of the Conference by the Chairman, the Rev Francis Noble Conference fee: £8 5s (Booking fee 10s included). Further particulars from the Secretary (PN), APF, 29 Great James St, London W.C.1, or telephone CHAncery 7476.

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8 August, Saturday

BROMLEY, Kent. 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Bromley Library, High St. shima, Nagasaki). Fast and silent vigil (Hiro-CND.

GLOUCESTER 3 p.m. Linden Lawn, 36 Innsworth Lane, Longlevens. Garden party in aid of PPU funds. Film Show, stalls, sideshows, refreshments. Speaker: Bernard Withers.

ILFORD. 2.30 p.m. Mtg. opposite C. & A. Modes, outside Ilford Stn. Subject: Conscription. YCND, C'ttee of 100.

LEICESTER. 10 a.m. Gaumont Cinema, Market Place. Peace News selling. Contact David Lane, 1 Wentworth Road, phone 21958.

LONDON S.E.3. 10 a.m. 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. All-day leafleting, literature selling, canvassing. Phone LEE 6249. Fellowship Party.

LONDON W.C.2. 3-7 p.m. Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Sq. Poster vigil. C'ttee of

TWICKENHAM. 11 a.m. Kings Head, Twickenham Junc. Open air meeting, Michael Craft. Phone EAL 6520 or TED 4864. INDEC.

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The cost of France's nuclear policy

We print below extracts from a report by "L'Association Socialisme increasing. M Le Theule again writes While M Closterman estimates, not withet Democratie," published in the Paris daily "Le Monde." This socialist group includes trade unionists, engineers and technicians among its members. "Le Monde," which is often likened to "The Times" here, comments that the study throws some light on official reports whose clarity often leaves much to be desired.

justified and whether the defence measures proposed are likely to be effective.

We propose here to try and establish the exact significance of the figures given by the Government or by other reliable official sources although not to examine how these figures are arrived at. But we shall discuss the degree to which these sums are understood and the doubts we feel on certain decisions.

I. THE PLANS

The debate on the 1964 budget "both the last of the 1960 military programme and the first of the 1964-70 programme" (M. Le Theule, of the Parliamentary Committee on National Defence, writing on the Army appropriations for 1964) make it possible to see the general outline of military expenditure until 1970 before the programme is actually presented by the Government. The Army Minister, M Messmer, will put the full military programme before the National Assembly for discussion in its next

The total annual military budget, which in theory should never be exceeded, is put at 20,000 million francs (£1,540 million) for 1964. According to M Messmer, the seven-year plan for 1964-70 budgets for an annual increase in this figure of 1,000 million francs (about £76 million). This gives a total of 161,000 million francs (£12,400 million) for the period 1964-70.

Are the Government's military plans possible out of the total 1964-70 expenditure of £12,400 million allowed by the Government? Might it not be necessary to abandon some of these objectives, to accept a lower expenditure, or risk aggravating the country's deficit?

1. EXPENDITURE ON EQUIPMENT

The military appropriations are made under two headings, operational esti-

Economics are rarely considered when a and one light overseas division, specially country's security is at stake; it is equipped and trained for fast action. usual to accept sacrifices for an efficient Each of the mechanised divisions, defence system. But it should be posaccording to M Messmer, will cost 2,000 sible to tell whether the sacrifices are million francs (£154 million) and the light division 1 million francs (£77 million), giving a total of 11,000 million francs (£640 million.)

> B. Air: M Closterman in his report, explains that the five mechanised divisions planned for 1970 will be absolutely useless without suitable air cover, for reconnaissance and short and long range troop and equipment transport. Closterman estimates the following minimum requirements:

> Minimum number: twenty. Estimated cost, 1,000 million francs, or £77 million. 2. A light tactical plane, to be as cheap as possible and to be in service as early as possible. Minimum requirements: one hundred. Total cost: 1,000 million francs, £77 million.

3. An eight-ton cargo plane, without which it would be impossible to send troops to Africa or distant parts of Europe fast enough . . . it is planned to use the Transall, which is to be produced jointly with West Germany. France will take fifty, and their cost is put at 1,500 million francs, or £115 million.

4. On the Breugot 941, a short take-off transport plane, the existing authorisations do not permit more than a few advanced models to be in service by 1966, but it is expected to spend 2,500 million francs or £194 million on this plane and other equipment for the Air

Thus the total cost of new equipment for the Air Force for the period to 1970 is estimated at 6,000 million francs, or £461 million.

C. Navy: M Rene-Georges Laurin, for the naval section of the Finance Commission, reports that the plan for the Navy for 1964-70 is not yet complete, but that it is expected to start work on ships with a total tonnage of at least 55,000 tons, including atomic submarines and rocket-firing frigates. But only one

"the appropriations for operating costs have hardly been reduced between 1963 and 1964, despite a reduction in the number of troops under colours. Nor will the cuts be sufficient to make any real difference after 1964. It would therefore be sensible to prepare for increases in operating costs in the next few years, because it will be necessary to improve conditions and additionally the operating costs of the nuclear force have obviously not yet reached their maximum, and these cannot fail to be heavy Suggestions have been made that the length of military service should be cut to reduce costs . . . but our reserves are already quite low.

If, therefore, we follow M Le Theule's arguments, it is not possible to expect an increase of less than 500 million francs (£38.6 million) a year in operating costs, which means that the full total of operational estimates for the 1. A vertical take-off combat plane, three forces is 85,400 million francs, or £6,560 million.

> If we now add the totals for the two sets of estimates together we get a total of 178,900 million francs, or £13,750 million, which is 18,900 million francs (£1,450 million) more than the 161,000 million estimated by M Messmer. This is the result of the first part of our analysis. But there is also a strong chance that these figures have been heavily underestimated, because they were calculated without considering the veracity of the 1964 budget and the possible margins of error.

II. THE UNCERTAINTIES

We have, up to now, assumed that the 1964 budget, the basis of our calculacompleted," and indicates that "the credits for 1964 cannot cover all the currently underway operations planned."

out optimism, that of the four major projects the cost of two can be calculated exactly, namely the five divisions and the programme of aircraft construction . . . he cannot forecast the cost of nuclear warheads, missiles or submarine missiles with such exactitude . . .

M Closterman has reason to be sceptical. Both American and our own experiences lead to the conclusion that the cost of nuclear power is almost always considerably higher than that estimated originally. The American experience has been contested in Siécle de Damocles: "the French research is less complex and better organised and also benefits from the American results," but one cannot contest French experience. In the first military programme put before parliament in 1960 and agreed in 1961, the actual expenditure on atomic bombs exceeded the original estimates by two or three times.

The figures reveal that the error is not just 10% or 20%, but in the order of 200% or 300%. Unless, and we cannot exclude the possibility, either for the first or second programmes, those responsible for military policy deliberately under-estimated the cost to make it easier to obtain agreement; perhaps thinking that once the original estimates were passed it would be difficult to stop the implementation of the plans for purely financial reasons.

III. THE CHOICES

Thus at the most conservative estimate. based on accepted official reports, which confirm the Government's intentions (if it respects the programme), the cost of tions, is honest and realistic, and that the programme will be 18,000 million its appropriations have not been under-francs (nearly £1,400 million) more than estimated. M Closterman himself does the overall budget fixed by the governnot assume this, because he writes on the air appropriations that "he does not see how the four major projects can be ment itself for 1964-70. In fact, as we have seen, it is likely to be considerably more than this. Unless we accept this fantastic growth in military expenditure. with its very serious political and economic consequences, the government will have to make cuts.



in theory should never be exceeded, is the seven-year plan for 1964-70 budgets for an annual increase in this figure of 1,000 million francs (about £76 million). This gives a total of 161,000 million francs (£12,400 million) for the period 1964-70.

Are the Government's military plans possible out of the total 1964-70 expenditure of £12,400 million allowed by the Government? Might it not be necessary to abandon some of these objectives, to accept a lower expenditure, or risk aggravating the country's deficit?

1. EXPENDITURE ON EQUIPMENT

The military appropriations are made under two headings, operational estimates (Part III of the military budget) and expenditure on equipment (Part V). The equipment appropriations in Part V cover, apart from expenditure directly concerned with the manufacture of conventional armaments, the setting up of military bases and installations (infrastructure), the manufacture of new weapons and equipment for military units, and research and developments of new prototypes. On these there is, apparently, no possibility of making economies. It also covers the expenditure directly concerned with the establishment of the strategic nuclear force, which gets an absolute priority and must add considerably to the size of the

If one is to believe the military men who produced Siècle de Damocles (L'Express of March 12 1964 reveals that this book, attributed to the "Club de Grenell," is in fact written by the information and film service of the Army), under the seven-year plan for 1964-70, the annual expenditure on atomic arms will equal a quarter of the total military budget.

For the purposes of argument it seems reasonable to accept a sum of £3,000 million. M Closterman, of the Air Section of the Commission on National Defence, estimates that a total of £284 million will have to be spent on the nuclear force in 1964, and this will further rise by 1,000 million francs (about £76,000) in 1965 and 1966. If we assume that the figure will stay stationary for the remaining four years of the programme we get a total figure of 40,100 million francs, or £3,080 million.

But if the nuclear force is to get first priority, as seems certain, since the head of state has made it virtually essential to the prestige of his constitution, what are the costs of the rest of the programme? These are partly revealed by M Messmer, partly by the budget reports. Here are the major items.

A. Army. The strike force of five armoured or mechanised divisions . . .

. On the breaget out, a short take-on transport plane, the existing authorisaput at 20,000 million francs (£1,540 miltions do not permit more than a few lion) for 1964. According to M Messmer, advanced models to be in service by 1966, but it is expected to spend 2,500 million francs or £194 million on this plane and other equipment for the Air Force.

Thus the total cost of new equipment for the Air Force for the period to 1970 is estimated at 6,000 million francs, or £461 million.

C. Navy: M Rene-Georges Laurin, for the naval section of the Finance Commission, reports that the plan for the Navy for 1964-70 is not yet complete, but that it is expected to start work on ships with a total tonnage of at least 55,000 tons, including atomic submarines and rocket-firing frigates. But only one atomic submarine is likely to be launched by 1970 and the total tonnage actually launched by 1970 will be in the region of 49,000 tons . . . We estimate that the total cost of new equipment for the navy is 4,100 million francs, or £316 million.

For all three services the total cost of new equipment between 1964 and 1970 adds up, therefore, to 21,100 million francs, or £1,623 million.

But estimates for 1964-70 also give the following figures for equipment currently being produced: Army: 3,800 million francs (£292 million); Air Force, 6,700 million francs (£515 million); and Navy, 2,600 million francs (£200 million). Total: 13,100 million francs or £1,007 million.

Also in Part V there is an item marked current needs, which includes research, ordinance, bases etc. For the period 1964-67 the accounts anticipate an annual increase of 3% a year for each of the three services Thus the total under Part V of the estimates for the three forces is 93,500 million francs, or £7,190 million.

2. Operating Costs

The operating costs for the three services and the administration costs are estimated at 10,700 million francs, or £840 million. This total, writes M Le Theule, still leaves serious deficiencies: insufficient funds for servicing equipment, for buying fuel, leading to "a new run on stocks" and "no provision for the ordinary soldier . . . nothing is set aside to increase pay (currently 30 centimes or 4s. 6d. a day) to a reasonable level.'

According to the announced plans there is to be no reduction in the numbers of troops under colours after 1964 (at the end of the year the armed forces will reach a level close to that fixed in the long term plans, reports M Le Theule): and one cannot therefore see how operating costs can be reduced without affecting the long term objectives; it would appear necessary to think of these expenses as at least stable, if not actually

We have, up to now, assumed that the confirm the Government's intentions (if operations currently underway or planned."

1964 budget, the basis of our calcula- it respects the programme), the cost of tions, is honest and realistic, and that the programme will be 18,000 million its appropriations have not been under-francs (nearly £1,400 million) more than estimated. M Closterman himself does the overall budget fixed by the governnot assume this, because he writes on ment itself for 1964-70. In fact, as we the air appropriations that "he does not have seen, it is likely to be considerably see how the four major projects can be more than this. Unless we accept this completed," and indicates that "the fantastic growth in military expenditure, credits for 1964 cannot cover all the with its very serious political and economic consequences, the government will have to make cuts.



A dangerous deportee: an elderly Greek woman clutching a Turkish passnort was among a shipload of people who arrived at the port of Piraeus in Greece last week after deportation from Turkey. The grounds were "that they were dangerous to Turkish security". sainimott a to egami bus yaiq end to t

The cost of France's nuclear policy

Robert S. Calese

We were overcome Criticisms of the civil rights leaders in Harlem

July 24), I might point out that in this what they did to integration! On Tuescase they undoubtedly deserved it. This day, James Farmer issued a public reis not to condemn either of them as indiquest that all white civil rights workers viduals, because they've both made tre- stay out of Harlem. That's right: stay mendous sacrifices - been arrested again out. In other words all it took was one and again, etc. - for the cause of brotherhood. However, if two well-intentioned leaders ever betrayed all their ideals in a crisis, Bayard Rustin and James Farmer did in Harlem last week. CORE is predicated on non-violent direct action. Direct action, in turn, presupposes that people come out on the streets. Yet here was half of Harlem out screaming for action, and all that Rustin and Farmer could suggest was that they go home. What kind of direct action is that?

The situation was begging for some really aggressive non-violence. CORE should have been out there en masse, outdoing the Black Nationalists, sitting down in front of police cars, going limp like crazy, and yelling "Freedom Now" so loud that the police couldn't hear their own sirens. CORE is full of people with just that kind of manic courage. Some brilliantly imaginative non-violence might have won over a good number of those who were running around throwing bottles and bricks in frenzied, but aimless, frustration. Instead Rustin and Farmer asked everyone to go quietly home, which meant that in effect they were working for the New York Police Department. Obviously the crowd sensed this and booed them. If they didn't believe deeply enough in non-violent confrontation to try it when the chips were down, they should have shut the hell up and helped throw bottles.

little pipsqueak police riot and they virtually turn racist. This meant that the Police Department, with numerous Negroes and one Chinese assigned to Harlem, was actually more inter-racial than CORE. (It's a wonder that Rustin and Farmer didn't turn in their Junior Auxiliary badges in protest!) CORE supposedly stands for integration as opposed to all the Black Nationalist organisations which are separatist. Yet in the biggest uproar to hit Harlem since 1943, CORE turned segregationist. Weren't they even embarrassed?

Their explanation for this was that a white face might have inflamed the passions of the mob, that many Negroes had a blind hatred for all whites and might have vented their rage on the first one they saw. Although it is possible, I think that both Rustin and Farmer had an exaggerated fear of this, and that if they really believed in integration they should have written it off as a calculated risk. Certainly their opinions on this score aren't at all in accord with the reactions provoked in Harlem by my own white face.

Living only 10 blocks from the edge of Harlem and being moderately active in the civil rights struggle, I phoned CORE on Sunday night (when I first heard of the trouble) to ask if they had any action

that night, and each night thereafter until Friday night, by which time things had quieted down. (Friday was the first night I didn't have to go alone.) I made it a particular point to be there around midnight, and spent my time in bars and on the streets, sometimes talking to people, or sometimes just walking around nodding at them. The reactions with the posters in Harlem that night until I was rained out on 125th Street. I got were startling - not at all what I had expected - and I think that had there been a few hundred of us up there visibly siding with the people, we might have achieved some good will. As it was I didn't see another white face up there (discounting police) until Thursday night, and by then the opportunity for non-violent confrontation was long gone.

In Harlem I found to my disappointment that most people didn't notice me at all. This was the most typical and least extold me to get out at once . . . have a pected response of all. Only a few were policeman escort me safely away. Later hostile. Some of the discussions I had when they saw me again they pointed with people lasted for upwards of an me out to Bayard Rustin, who ignored hour, but most contacts consisted merely me. All in all the more time I spent in of brief exchanges. I was refused ser- Harlem, the more I became convinced vice in one fish and chips place, but that both Rustin and Farmer - despite ten minutes later I was in a bar and their undenied sincerity - totally missomeone wanted to buy me a drink. In another bar one fellow brought me over Negroes towards whites. As a result I a stool to sit on, but the person I had think the civil rights movement com-gone in with confided that if he returned pletely bombed out. Black and white going. I was informed that there was a there he might be beaten up for bring-together, we were overcome.

In connection with your item "Rustin and But non-violence isn't the only thing riot going on, and that that ought to be ing me in. On another occasion after Farmer booed in Harlem" (Peace News, they sold out - you should have seen enough activity. This fluff-off is hard to denouncing both Abraham Lincoln and reconcile with the Peace News statement the Civil Rights Bill as comparable about an appeal by Bayard Rustin - nor frauds, a middle aged drunk took an did I ever see any CORE volunteers patineffectual swing at me only to be rolling the streets in white armbands. pushed away by a Black Muslim who (More CORE help for the police?) pushed away by a Black Muslim who spent the next hour talking with me about race relations. When I went to I went up to Harlem for several hours the offices of the Harlem Defence Council to get some of their non-pacifistic posters ("Wanted for Murder - Gilligan, the Cop") they were most cordial but wanted me to give them out only in white neighbourhoods. They wanted to until I was rained out on 125th Street. The people requesting them most avidly were the police - some were surly but most were somewhat sheepish, wanting one for a souvenir or "to show my kid". A squad car pulled up beside me and asked for ten! stilling Isunns Istot on

> But the people who made me feel the least welcome up there was a group from CORE who originally walked right by me on 125th Street without noticing my colour. When I hailed them they judged the attitude of the majority of

and Jenning Freedom Now so loud that the police couldn't hear their own sirens. CORE is full of people with just that kind of manic courage. Some brilliantly imaginative non-violence might have won over a good number of those who were running around throwing bottles and bricks in frenzied, but aimless, frustration. Instead Rustin and Farmer asked everyone to go quietly home, which meant that in effect they were working for the New York Police Department. Obviously the crowd sensed this and booed them. If they didn't believe deeply enough in non-violent confrontation to try it when the chips were down, they should have shut the hell up and helped throw bottles.

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Albert Hunt

Christians and Injuns

The Royal Hunt of the Sun by Peter presented in isolation as one of Peter threateningly down on the innocent often, and at great length. And we all the Chichester Festival Theatre.

Towards the end of Peter Shaffer's new play, The Royal Hunt of the Sun, there is an astonishing moment of pure theatre. In the centre of the stage lies the body of Atahuallpa, the Sovereign Inca of Peru. Watching him stands Pizarro, the leader of the Spanish expedition, who has just had the Inca executed. Suddenly a number of figures in long, black robes begin to shuffle into a rough circle around the prostrate figure. They wear enormous wide masks rectangles knocked out of shape - that look a bit like some of Picasso's sketches of birds, comic, sad and grotesque.

They are chanting fragmentary, meaningless syllables. And then there is a sudden silence. All the masks are turned to look out at the audience, the bird-like eyes still and remote. For what seems to be a long time, there is no sound, no movement. Then one of them beats a drum, and they return, completely absorbed, to their broken chanting.

The ritual is repeated several times the sudden silences, the stare at the audience - until finally the black figures shuffle closer round the body, murmur a few final syllables, and slowly leave. The scene has a narrative point to make. ful clothes, are gentle, work in the fields Through a long night, Pizarro is waiting for a miracle: Atahuallpa has promised to rise again with the sun. The figures evoke both the night and the darkness the basic naivety of the conception, and of death. When they leave it is morn- which makes them sound like Red ing, but no miracle takes place.

The dramatic effect, though, has very The Christianity which Peter Shaffer little to do with this narrative. The opposes to this primitive Utopia is scene would lose almost nothing by violent and bloody. It is typified by the

Brook's exercises in the Theatre of Cruelty.

What is in fact demonstrated is the power of a mysterious and self-contained ritual, a ritual that is composed entirely of rigorously selected gestures, primitive shapes and fragments of sound, arranged in an exciting rhythmic pattern. Watching these absorbed figures is like looking at a complicated game whose rules you don't understand, and which therefore becomes weird and fascinating. effect is direct and physical.

The trouble is that this effect has very little to do with the way Peter Shaffer's play, as a whole, works. It is one of a series of dramatic moments that are exciting in themselves, but that add almost nothing to the play's meaning, which is conveyed, not through these images, but through long, arid exchanges of words.

The Royal Hunt of the Sun ostensibly deals with the impact of Spanish Christian invaders on an Inca civilisation built around worship of the sun. It is a huge theme, but Peter Shaffer presents it in such crudely simplified terms that no genuine confrontation ever takes place. The Incas are seen as an embodiment of the eighteenth century concept of the Noble Savage. They wear colourand sing, and worship the life-giving sun. Peter Shaffer has created for them a simplified speech, which itself reflects Indians in a Western.

being lifted right out of the play and image of a Dominican Chaplain bearing

heathen, a cross held out at arm's length in front of him. It is true that in the figure of a Franciscan friar, whose gentleness is ultimately more ferocious than the rantings of his colleague, Peter Shaffer hints at some of the paradoxes in the concept of Christian love. (The friar suggests that love involves freedom, and that freedom cannot exist without poverty and inequality.) But the idea is left unexplored. It hangs there in the play like a chunk of undigested meat.

Peter Shaffer, in fact, shows very little interest in the complex of forces that lay behind Spanish expansion in the sixteenth century. His concerns are much narrower, although they have a grandiose sound. They can be seen in In the context of this conventional his treatment of Pizarro himself, on whom the philosophic weight of the play is made to rest.

The most revealing moment comes in the second half of the play, when Pizarro is confronted by a tough political decision. He has promised to set Atahuallpa free in exchange for a roomful of gold. He never expects the gold to be delivered, but it is. And suddenly he has to decide whether to break his oath, and ensure the safe return of his expedition, or liberate the Inca sovereign and risk the death of his own

It is a situation interesting enough to demand honest examination. But Peter Shaffer chooses to evade it completely by elevating the decision on to a much more philosophical plane.

For the quality that Shaffer most emphasises about Pizarro is his horror of Time. It passes. Pizarro tells us so, Christopher Fry of the sixties.

have to die. Pizarro is afraid of death. He finally agrees to Atahuallpa's execution, not because dirty political acts are sometimes necessary, but because Atahualpa promises to rise again. The agnostic Pizarro commits murder in the hope of finding a faith that will liberate him from his terror of death. The play ends with Pizarro weeping over Atahuallpa in a torrent of self-pity and complaining that he has been cheated. All the complexities of the Spanish impact on Peru - cruelty, greed, religious bigotry, coupled with a tremendous vital, exploring energy and a new scientific curiosity - are reduced to this cliché image of Romantic Man struggling in vain against the certainty of Death.

theme, the theatrical experiments become picturesque decoration. We watch a mountain being climbed in mime. How cleverly done, we say. Or we admire the balletic excitement of the massacre of the Incas, performed as a dance of death. And when the prisoner Atahuallpa exchanges his white prisoner's robe for his more royal garments, it is pictorially interesting, but it adds nothing to the play.

Peter Shaffer seems to me to be a completely conventional dramatist with a liking for high-sounding dialogue, behind which he tries to conceal a considerable collection of received ideas. The Royal Hunt of the Sun is a piece of turgid philosophising, tricked out with modern theatre gimmicks, which, in John Dexter's skilful production, give the play an appearance of life.

It establishes Peter Shaffer as the

From the fight scene in Shoot the pianist

rence

a fact - that the movement for sward, which now resulted in bloodshed" particularly under Gandhian auspices, precisely how Gandhi "contributed" to countrymen into Say Old ASSA Countrymen in Say Old Assa Country Say Old Assa

EYEBROW CRITIC

Mr Russell Taylor's book is subtitled Some Key Film-Makers of the Sixties. I opened it with some excitement since I share his estimate of the importance of at least six of the nine film directors he deals with. I finished the book and put it down with almost no feeling at all. Mr Taylor had rarely illuminated a film for me; had hardly ever increased my understanding of the film-makers, had never provoked me to real disagreement or agreement. It is tempting to review the book by describing it as undistinguished and leaving it at that.

I think it's worth looking more closely

Cinema Eye, Cinema Ear, by John Leprohon's view that it is Antonioni's Russell Taylor. (Methuen, 30s.) Leprohon's view that it is Antonioni's masterpiece." Having admitted the disagreement, however, he doesn't bother to give M. Leprohon's reasons for liking the film. And, in fact, a few paragraphs later dismisses the whole matter by saying "... I find it difficult to understand exactly why its admirers admire

> This implicit dismissal of people whose opinions one disagrees with, without confronting those opinions, seems to me characteristic of a very familiar way of arguing in this country, so far as film criticism is concerned at least. Its equivalent in conversation is the polite response, "Oh really, how interesting" when an opinion that is thought odd is



childish innocence in his early films, not so much interested in realistic social Les Mistons and The 400 Blows. But drama as in drama of mood and emohe has no sense of the place this concern tional states. has in the structure of the two films. In Les Mistons the loss of innocence by the children is directly related to their discovery of sexual desire. On the face of it this theme isn't present in The 400 Blows. Innocence is certainly dealt with in the film but simply for its own sake, it would seem. But one of the things that makes *The 400 Blows* so much more interesting and attractive than it appears on the surface is its subterannean quality. The script looks as if it were conceived primarily as a realistic social drama about a boy from an about a boy from a surface or the script looks. drama about a boy from an unhappy

Mr Taylor notices Truffaut's concern for Truffaut's acknowledgment that he is

Again the division of the world into those who retain and those who lose their innocence is clear. Charlie, the pianist, finding an active involvement in life too painful, has withdrawn into a stoic anonymity. He is contrasted with his three brothers who are still involved in life but only because they have not grown out of their state of childlike innocence (notice how both the brothers and the crooks are always parodied, always made to seem like children).

Charlie's pain comes from his sexual

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I think it's worth looking more closely at Cinema Eye, Cinema Ear because its faults seem to me typical of much that is wrong with film criticism in this country at present. One should note, in this connection, that John Russell Taylor is the film critic of *The Times* and writes a regular column, as well as occasional reviews and carticles, for Sight and

On the face of it the book has a number of virtues. I think they could be described as characteristic liberal virtues. Mr Taylor's choice of directors is a catholic one; he appreciates a refined, controlled stylist like Antonioni as well as an extravagant, undisciplined creator like Fellini. He discusses each director in a comprehensive fashion. Except where a director's output (like Hitchcock's) is so large that it is almost impossible to do so, or where a number of films are inaccessible (like Bunuel's) he discusses thoroughly each film the director has made. His opinions are always expressed moderately; there is no wildness or eccentricity in the book. The tone is modest; he rarely insists on his own preferences.

Faced with such virtues, it may seem niggardly and ungenerous to complain of them. But it seems to me they are virtues English film criticism could well do without. In any case, as they come through in Mr Taylor's book (or in a book like Penelope Houston's The Contemporary Cinema or a magazine like Sight and Sound) they seem more like ghosts of attitudes that had their day and passed on some time ago.

One example will perhaps make clear what I mean. Throughout his book Mr Taylor takes great care to appear fairminded. When he dislikes a film other people value highly he mentions this. But the fairness is a matter of appearance only. Discussing Antonioni's Il Grido, for instance, he writes "This is, perhaps, the most controversial of all Antonioni's films, opinions ranging from those (I am one of them) who consider it, despite its many refinements, a relative failure, and those who share Pierre

masterpiece." Having admitted the disagreement, however, he doesn't bother to give M. Leprohon's reasons for liking the film. And, in fact, a few paragraphs later dismisses the whole matter by saying "... I find it difficult to understand exactly why its admirers admire

This implicit dismissal of people whose opinions one disagrees with, without confronting those opinions, seems to me characteristic of a very familiar way of arguing in this country, so far as film criticism is concerned at least. Its equivalent in conversation is the polite response, "Oh really, how interesting" when an opinion that is thought odd is expressed - and then the swift passing on as if nothing had been said.

There is an extension of the technique in the way Mr Taylor handles the French admirers of Alfred Hitchcock's films (who see his films as the work of a man with a religious outlook and a profound psychological concern). Having admitted, early in his chapter on Hitchcock, that there may be something in what they say, he cannot resist making little jokes at their expense later on. Discussing Foreign Correspondent he writes: "Memorable scenes include a clumsy attempt to kill the hero by pushing him off the top of Westminster Cathedral" and then adds apropos of nothing "The fact that it is a Roman Catholic Cathedral seems, oddly, to have escaped French commentators." How important tone is in a sentence like this. In such a context, the use of "oddly," like a lifted eyebrow or a slight smile, expresses the English sense of superiority and amusement at eccentricity. So the French critics are quietly derided, their opinions never confronted, and yet the appearance of fairness is kept up.

The worst feature of the book is its plodding, predictable structure. Taylor treats each director in exactly the same way - a few introductory remarks, a potted biography and then an account of his films. Whether they are successes or not, the films get more or less the same space and attention. Each film is treated as if it were not directly related to the others. There is little sense of the director's preoccupations, his attempt to grapple with them, his success or failure in doing so. Mr Taylor rarely gets inside the director's creative world. Once inside, of course, some films seem more important than others and deserving of more extended treatment. From the outside all the films seem more or less the same, seperate phenomena, demanding equality of treat-

films is a good example of this failure. The unrealistic structure of the films is film as a whole.

childish innocence in his early films, not so much interested in realistic social Les Mistons and The 400 Blows. But he has no sense of the place this concern tional states. has in the structure of the two films. In Les Mistons the loss of innocence by the children is directly related to their discovery of sexual desire. On the face of it this theme isn't present in The 400 Blows. Innocence is certainly dealt with in the film but simply for its own sake, it would seem. But one of the things that makes The 400 Blows so much more interesting and attractive than it appears on the surface is its subterannean quality. The script looks as if it were conceived primarily as a realistic social drama about a boy from an unhappy home whose circumstances force him to become a delinquent. Truffaut's preoccupation with innocence consistently distorts the realistic structure of the The hero, Antoine, retains too much charm and innocence for a boy who is so unlucky and so badly treated by the world he lives in. And the moments of innocence, like the boys fooling around in a lesson, Antoine and his friend wandering around Paris or the theft of the typewriter, are dwelt on so much that the film comes to have a quality of fantasy.

The opposition between sex and innocence is also present. If there is a villain in the drama it is Antoine's mother. She is responsible for the unhappy atmosphere at home because of Throughout Cinema Ear, Cinema Eye, the affair she is having with a man at the office. She is never sincere in her treatment of Antoine, she always has an ulterior motive. Her sexuality is insisted on both in the way she is observed by Truffaut and by details of the plot (Antoine is illegitimate, she is having an affair etc.)

If these themes are noticed, Truffaut's next film, Shoot the Pianist, seemingly a very puzzling one for him to have made, is much easier to understand. Shoot the Pianist seems an incoherent film, Mr Taylor acknowledges this when he verging on the absurd. It switches from writes "ultimately form and content comedy to drama, it changes style are the same thing, single and indivisiabruptly, it seems to have no central concern. Mr Taylor explains the film by maxim. In discussing particular films, saying "But there is aliways a unifying he is constantly separating form from factor to bind together all these diverse content. For example, dismissing The elements; the personality of the director Seventh Seal as one of Bergman's who puts in everything he likes for no failures, he comments, "Technically the other reason than it amuses him to do film is impeccable. The black and white so . . . it irradiates throughout the happy photography of Gunnar Fischer is conholiday feeling of a film-maker out for stantly striking with its crisp, clear, once to please nobody but himself and a deep focus work, its very black blacks few friends." If, in fact, the previous and very white whites." films are analysed along the lines I've like this clearly separates the photosuggested, the way the director's per- graphy of a film off as a decorative sonality acts as a unifying factor can be extra as if the deep focus and the clearly seen and not left, as Mr Taylor intensity of the blacks and whites had The account given of Francois Truffaut's leaves it, as a rather mysterious factor. nothing to do with the quality of the

drama as in drama of mood and emo-

Again the division of the world into those who retain and those who lose their innocence is clear. Charlie, the pianist, finding an active involvement in life too painful, has withdrawn into a stoic anonymity. He is contrasted with his three brothers who are still involved in life but only because they have not grown out of their state of childlike innocence (notice how both the brothers and the crooks are always parodied, always made to seem like children).

Charlie's pain comes from his sexual involvements. His withdrawal has come about as a result of his wife's suicide; and that suicide was the result of the affair she had with a famous impresario in order to get Charlie started on his career as a concert pianist. His second sexual involvement leads to two deaths, the second one of the girl, Lena, herself. The final scene in the snow which Mr Taylor sees only as a decorative indulgence is in fact a superb image of evil amongst innocence; the idyllic setting of the cabin hidden away in the snowcovered woods; the reunion of the brothers; the absurd, child-like fight between the crooks and the brothers: and amongst all this Lena's death marked by the graceful slide of her body across the white waste.

there is a lack of intellectual pressure. I have space for only one example of this. Some years ago there was a debate in the film magazines about the division that was often made by film critics between the form of a film and its content. That debate has now been settled. Most people agree that you cannot separate form from content when you discuss a film - that the only way to get at the content of a film is through the quality of its images.

ble." But his practice denies his own A comment

The Indian experience

The death of Nehru dramatically re- work and values for growth of the as anyone to the communal divisions a fact - that the movement for swaraj, cerned about mankind in general; they are also important for pacifists in that they implicitly pose questions which ought to be grappled with by peace
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and rule of one country by another has politically "unrealistic"?

Woodruff's two volumes tell the story of the rise, development, and fall of British India from its faint beginnings with the establishment of the East India Company old Indian civilisation to throw off its the British accepted "democracy," not to the withdrawal of the British in 1947. Woodruff builds his account primarily around the activities of leaders who are As for Michael Edwardes' account, its because they found it not incompatible presumed to be more or less typical of their times. Lord Elphinstone, Charles Metcalfe, Robert Bird, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, and many others provide points of departure, as it were, for problems of British administration. Although lengthy comments on the activities of Wedgriff in cuits aware that there are Woodruff is quite aware that there are the last viceroys, and a description of other perspectives, he chooses to see the tedious negotiations out of which Indian affairs primarily from the view- emerged the partition of British India. point of the Indian Civil Service. How,

in it a stain of evil." Despite this, however, he obviously believes that while Edwardes interprets the "inheritors" of India had begun to "outgrow" the imperial system long before independence, tially, he believes, those who took control still it was the system itself that led the of affairs in India after the departure of

he asks throughout, did administrators His analyses of Congress political leaders attempt to live up to their self-imposed will interest those concerned about

minded us once more of the enormous national self-consciousness that led to which now resulted in bloodshed" particularly under Gandhian auspices, minded us once more of the enormous importance of India for world affairs and of the fact that Indian independence. As he portrays it, the so recent. In two helpful books by Philip Woodruff† and Michael Edwardes*, the light and shadows of Indian history since the seventeenth century are held up for examination. Not only are the works of intrinsic interest to those conversed about markind in general, they

> of its virtues in the abstract, but rather Edwardes believes this is more true of India than, for example, of Britain or the United States; but he offers no comparisons. Although there may be a modicum of truth in his assertions, I believe that they are overdrawn. Like Woodruff he

of independence. If Britain did indeed treat its "guardian" functions seriously, how did it happen that, after nearly a hundred years under the direct control of the Crown, most ordinary Indians were still so poorly equipped for life in the modern world? One wonders whether it wasn't because the British guardians had a rather narrow and unimaginative view of their responsi-

These volumes provide valuable materials for the student of pacifist theory. At least two questions can be asked: First, what was the actual character of the British rule which was eventually attacked by non-violent resistance? Second, what methods would pacifists have used had they been confronted with some of the specific situations faced by British administrators?

The first question is important in view of the frequent allegations that while

Woodruff's two volumes tell the story of the rise, development, and fall of British India from its faint beginnings with the establishment of the East India Company to the withdrawal of the British in 1947. Woodruff builds his account primarily around the activities of leaders who are presumed to be more or less typical of their times. Lord Elphinstone, Charles Metcalfe, Robert Bird, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, and many others provide points of departure, as it were, for problems of British administration. Although Woodruff is quite aware that there are other perspectives, he chooses to see Indian affairs primarily from the viewpoint of the Indian Civil Service. How, he asks throughout, did administrators attempt to live up to their self-imposed responsibilities for guiding India "in its own interests "?

At the conclusion of Volume II, he compares the ideals and methods of British Indian imperialism with those of such empires as the Roman, Chinese, Spanish, and Ottoman - and the British system comes out very well indeed. "A foreign conquest," he avers, "is justified . . . by the new spirit which it awakens." In essence, the British conquest can be defended, he seems to hold, because it eventually did stir up a "new spirit" among Indians and provided the ground-

†The Men Who Ruled India, by Philip Woodruff. (Jonathan Cape, paperback edition, 1963; two vols, 10s 6d each.)

*The Last Years of British India, by Michael Edwardes. (Cassell, 1963, 25s.)

in it a stain of evil." Despite this, how ever, he obviously believes that while Edwardes interprets the "inheritors" of India had begun to "outgrow" the imperial system long before independence, tially, he believes, those who took control still it was the system itself that led the old Indian civilisation to throw off its torpor.

As for Michael Edwardes' account, its theme is the gradual decline of British authority in the twentieth century. He provides a detailed summary of the politics of the thirties and forties, sketches of Congress politicians, rather lengthy comments on the activities of the last viceroys, and a description of the tedious negotiations out of which emerged the partition of British India.

His analyses of Congress political leaders will interest those concerned about recent Indian politics. But some of his sketches include dubious evaluations and at points are even incredible. Note, for example, some of his statements dealing with Gandhi: "Gandhi's hold on the masses seemed to drain the vigour from more intelligent and dynamic minds" (p. 53); Gandhi "meant to meet the Japanese with the same loving nonviolence that he thought was working against the British. His naïveté was sublime and characteristic" (p. 76); "the British had not feared Gandhi, the reducer of violence" (p. 92) but had feared men like Subhas Bose. Edwardes' general picture of Gandhi is that of an "unrealistic" man; but when he accepted Pakistan, he "did have a sound sense of reality" (p. 149). The writer praises Gandhi for his efforts at reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus in Bengal but then throws in the astonishing statement that "he had contributed as much

British authority in elitist terms. Essenof affairs in India after the departure of the British accepted "democracy," not primarily because they were convinced of its virtues in the abstract, but rather because they found it not incompatible with their own personal political and economic ambitions. Democratic institutions in India "exist only by the consent of those who profit from them, and even then are fundamentally distorted by self-interest." One wonders whether Edwardes believes this is more true of India than, for example, of Britain or the United States: but he offers no comparisons. Although there may be a modicum The first question is important in view of truth in his assertions, I believe that they are overdrawn. Like Woodruff, he seems to have a kind of nostalgia for the "good old days" of British rule and appears to suggest that if India is successful it will be due in great degree not to its own efforts but rather to the Just what picture of British methods endeavours of the British trustees who does emerge? At best it is not entirely held it so long.

Despite their merits, one finds lacking in these volumes any considerable attention to, or perhaps deep understanding of, the perspectives of Indians themselves. How did British rule appear, for example, to the ordinary peasant? Both writers suggest that independence and all the goings-on in Delhi had little meaning for him; and Edwardes maintains that the independence movement human life: suttee, or the practice, as a whole had as its underlying objective the provision of job opportunities for the relatively few educated Indians. death of her husband; the habit of a

of the Crown, most ordinary Indians were still so poorly equipped for life in the modern world? One wonders whether it wasn't because the British guardians had a rather narrow and unimaginative view of their responsibilities.

These volumes provide valuable materials for the student of pacifist theory. At least two questions can be asked: First, what was the actual character of the British rule which was eventually attacked by non-violent resistance? Second, what methods would pacifists have used had they been confronted with some of the specific situations faced by British administrators?

of the frequent allegations that while non-violent resistance might "work" against British rule in India, opposition to Nazi or Communist regimes would be something quite different.

clear. Experience with British rule was a mixed one.

On the other hand we must remember that all was not sweetness and light before the British did consolidate their control. India was divided and was plagued by petty wars. And, as Woodruff graphically points out, certain social customs more or less associated with Hinduism revealed little respect for sometimes brutally enforced, of the widow committing suicide after the Neither writer seems to be fully aware childless wife vowing her first child to of what many keen observers take to be destruction, in the hope that the gods

> Jallianwala Bagh, at Amritsar, where in 1919 General Dyer ordered troops to fire into a crowd of demonstrators, some 300 of whom were killed. Mulford Sibley suggests that "British rule was neither the dark and semi-totalitarian affair sometimes suggested by certain Indian nationalists, nor yet the benign government of some British apologists."

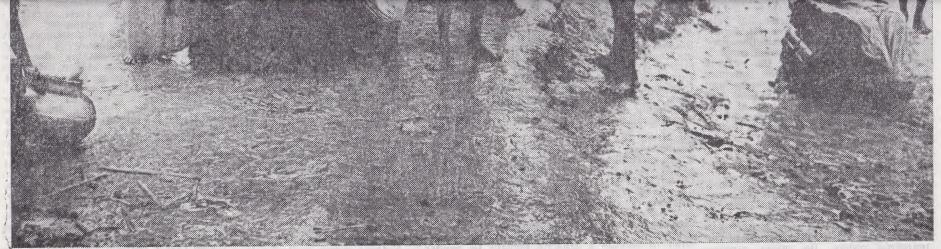
Photo from the India Office Library, published by courtesy of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. 149 Tallure and three was store Piptre







would then provide more children (the criminately at Allahabad, Cawnpore, and short-sighted and narrow in their Villagers in East Bengal leaving



eldest might be kept until the age of seven and then thrown to the crocodiles); the custom of burying lepers alive or assisting the old and sick to die by stuffing nose and mouth with Ganges mud. British rule tended to bring unity to India and British governors struggled to eliminate suttee and other lifedestroying practices, not excluding the human sacrifices which occurred in some parts of the sub-continent. There is no doubt, either, that British rule was responsible for vast improvement in public health, communications, and transporta-

And all this was accomplished with relatively few British civil servants. Their numbers never exceeded about 1,500, most of them highly dedicated men. Woodruff comments, too, on the small size of British military forces: "In the 1850s, the total of the Company's armies was usually rather less than 300,000 fighting men, of whom as a rule some forty-five thousand or a few more were English troops. There were some two hundred million natives of India. There might then be one English soldier to every five Indian soldiers - and one soldier, fair or dark to every six hundred civilians." Nor did the numbers of British soldiers substantially increase after the middle of the nineteenth century.

But we should not neglect the other side. Lord Elphinstone ordered ringleaders of an alleged plot to be "blown from guns, observing that this method of execution contains two valuable elements of capital punishment; it is painless to the criminal and terrible to the beholder'." And others followed the noble lord's example. During the Great Mutiny of 1857, General Neill ordered Major industries, seemed to have but little undereds of thousands threatened with Renaud to "slaughter all the men; take derstanding of the elementary and second-death, swift action of some kind apno prisoners." The male civil population ary educational needs of the masses, and, peared to be necessary. Yet it was not easy solutions for them, even in the seems to have been slaughtered indis- like imperialists generally, were often taken. Edwardes maintains that British pages of a Gandhi.

would then provide more children (the criminately at Allahabad, Cawnpore, and short-sighted Delhi.

> Woodruff contends that "racial arrogance" on the part of the British began to increase markedly during the latter part of the nineteenth century, since there were more British nationals with whom they could associate and the need to understand Indians was correspondingly less. Many of the British ruling class resented the political development of Indians and acted accordingly.

> The turning point for Indian-British relations was just after World War One. In 1918-19 came the Rowlatt Report and the Amritsar Massacre. The former continued arbitrary wartime measures. In the latter, General Dyer, confronted by demonstrators estimated at five to twenty thousand in number, shot 1,650 rounds of ammunition into the crowd and did not stop until his ammunition was exhausted. Some three hundred were killed. Although the government removed Dyer, there can be little doubt that he, supported by not a few others, regarded himself as a hero. After Amritsar, Indian nationalism could no longer support the British connection and for the first time, apparently, British leaders began to see that their days in India might be numbered.

> summary judgment would seem to indicate that British rule was neither the dark and semi-totalitarian affair sometimes suggested by certain Indian nationalists nor yet the benign government of some British apologists. Although it relied on relatively little overt British force, it could and sometimes did resort to rather arbitrary measures. Although British policy-makers talked

and narrow vision.

As Gandhi and others saw so clearly, British rule was based primarily on the slavishness and lack of self-respect of the Indian masses. It was the passivity of the many which enabled the few to exploit the people. Precisely because of this, Gandhi emphasised that the first order of business must be a spiritual and intellectual one: to revive self-confidence and a sense of dignity in those subject to British rule. This accomplished, the undermining of imperial controls would be relatively simple.

Whether Gandhi's methods would have "worked" against a fully-fledged Nazi or Communist government we do not know. However, the underlying issue would be similar: how to transform slaves into human beings capable of freedom; how to develop a spirit incapable of being intimidated by threat of force. No doubt this would be difficult; and the actual non-violent resistance might involve a far greater loss of life. On the other hand, the very brutality of the regime might conceivably serve to stimulate greater and more widespread opposition, and earlier revulsion on the part of servants of the regime. The experience of post-war Poland might be relevant here. And certainly the examples of Norway and Denmark in World War Two have much to teach us.

The second question the pacifist might put to himself, after a perusal of these volumes, involves the old issue of when and under what circumstances the use of physical force can be justified. Some of the most graphic descriptions of the Edwardes study are devoted to the widespread massacres of Hindus and Moslems frequently of their sense of responsi- at the time of partition. With millions bility, they helped destroy native village of refugees, thousands dead, and hun-

Villagers in East Bengal leaving their homes and evacuating the affected areas during the Hindu-Muslim riots in November 1946. One of the women carries a shotgun. "Was the use of force to prevent fighting permissible"? asks Mulford Sibley.

troops might have halted the massacres and prevented most of the deaths but that for political reasons the troops could not be used.

The pacifist, to be sure, can argue that the whole bloody catastrophe might have been prevented by non-violent actions of various kinds. Had there been enough Gandhis to travel throughout the country reconciling Hindus to Moslems and Moslems to Hindus, had an adequate educational system been in existence, the apparent necessity for police action would not have arisen. But the point is that preventive actions and institutions had not been available. Given pacifist presuppositions and analyses, was the use of force to prevent fighting permissible? Soldiers as such carry on organised violent conflict among men; policemen, presumably, may utilise force to keep battling groups from one another's throats, as they might have done during the sad days of partition. What is pacifist doctrine at this point? Or is there one? Similar issues are arising today in connection with the American struggle for racial integration. Unless pacifists are prepared to evade concrete questions of the here and now, they must somehow grapple with matters of this kind.

The whole tangled web of recent Indian history bristles with problems of this order. Pacifists are unlikely to find

THEODORE ROSZAK The anachronism called Goldwater

The smashing success of Barry Gold- the face of it, the claim seems absurd. coverage of the American popular press the South. society which modern history is leaving behind as it builds the ever more efficient, ponderous, and airtight welfare state.

The social nucleus of the American disinherited is the scattered community of vidualist? small businessmen, those last, tenacious true-believers in the Horatio Alger mythology of the nineteenth century. It is Goldwater's special connection to this class, and Nelson Rockefeller's personal relationship to the world of the major corporations, that gave to the political competition between them an almost toopoetic symbolism. William Scranton's last minute substitution for Rockefeller took some of the edge off the epic struggle at the convention itself. But the two men, Scranton and Rockefeller, speak for the same interest, that of the sophisticated, progressive, big business community (the nearest thing America has to an Establishment) whose views have dominated the GOP since 1940.

Standard Oil . . .

Rockefeller represents, of course, the third generation of one of America's industrial founding fathers. AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph) and DuPont and General Motors, Standard Oil has become institutionalised wealth; it is one of those great corporations which has had over the years a fundamental and formative influence upon public policy and character, and which is so old and so entrenched it is indistinguishable in the minds of most Americans from the Post Office and the Army as a permanent national institu-

... vs. Antsy Pants

Goldwater on the other hand is a small retail businessman, a department store owner, who is the voice and cause of every gas station and hardware store

water at the Republican National And yet, on another level, it is exactly - especially the small town dailies, which Alabama, who might have captured the Convention last month provides an im- right. How can a Rockefeller understand are, again, the special province of the votes of race-prejudiced Southerners portant insight into the contemporary the economic experience of the small small businessman. American social system. The Senator's tradesman who must run real risks and nomination was essentially a victory live precariously by his wits? But, within the party for those whom Daniel similarly, how can a Goldwater under-Bell has called "the disinherited," that stand the world of the major indusanxious, disruptive segment of American trialist, where risk is unknown and where vast, foreign investments often require for their success more the finesse of a trained diplomat (often enough provided by the State Department itself) than the blunt, self-assertion of the rugged indi-

Welfare State

Conceivably, had he been nominated, Rockefeller could have outbid Lyndon Johnson in fashioning a liberal domestic platform. It takes wealth of the magnitude and provenance of Standard Oil to grasp the fact that the welfare state is simply the social form of matured capitalism. The great unions, the regulatory agencies, the federal reserve system, deficit welfare spending, social security, civil rights and racial integration, medicare, farm subsidies, federal aid to education, slum clearance . . . what are these all but so many handy devices for mollifying social distress short of the personal suffering or outrage that lead to agitation for structural change in the economy? They are the patches that keep the capitalist system from disintegration. They associate the federal government with the greater business community in a partnership that aims at rationalising and stabilising the system. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that Henry Ford II, in the face of a Goldwater nomination at San Francisco, should throw his support to Lyndon Johnson. Nor that so many New York bankers and brokers should be so thoroughly disinterested in a change of administration.

businessman, the great trade unions down the debt? Its sources are after all, which conveniently regulate the labour the Second World War, the Korean War, supply of the major industries are a and the arms race. Perhaps we are to towering threat. The welfare state, with believe that Goldwater would not have its hunger for taxes, is the parasitic agreed to such military spending? Yet, creature of free-loaders and wastrels. when his name was placed in nomina-And the claims of the poor and the out- tion at San Francisco, the first tune the minded groups as the American Minutecast are a danger to his property values

The Birchers

If Goldwater's campaign is not under the control of the John Birch Society, it is obvious enough why, nonetheless, he and his supporters refused at San Francisco to censure the Society. The paranoia that permits the Birchers to perceive Dwight Eisenhower as a "conscious communist agent" is only a minor exaggeration of the Goldwaterite world-view, which would probably settle for tagging Eisenhower as a socialist dupe. What has, indeed, given the entire Goldwater campaign an almost surrealist quality is its thinly-veiled repudiation of Eisenhower, the only Republican capable of winning the presidency in the last thirty-two years. (What is wierder still: Eisenhower himself seems completely oblivious to the insult!)

The angry frustration which characterises the Goldwaterites derives not only from their incomprehension of the matured capitalism that dominates their society. It stems too from the internal contradictions of their own doctrine. In the hyper-conservative Chicago Tribune there recently appeared an interesting cartoon. It showed a lean, handsome, forthright Barry Goldwater carrying a placard which read "Stop the Democrats." Behind him, carrying a placard reading "Stop Goldwater," was a wellbellied and obnoxious figure in top hat and tails labelled "wealthy Eastern party manipulators." The "manipulator" carried in his pocket a thick wad of dollars labelled: "interest on the national debt." The implication is clear enough: the bolshevik bankers of the eastern seaboard grow fat on the deficits of the welfare state. And so they do. But But from the viewpoint of the small how exactly would Goldwater have scaled

Governor Wallace of from both Goldwater and Johnson, has withdrawn his nuisance-candidacy from the presidential race - significantly, just one day after Goldwater's nomination. The Senator will no doubt make dramatic inroads upon the ordinarily Democratic South, though the votes of the South alone cannot elect a president.

Still, despite their weakness in the coming general election, the Goldwaterites' triumph at San Francisco is an instructive example of how very effective a desperate minority can be regardless of its reactionary character.

For it was through their control of the Republican party apparatus that Goldwater got the nomination. They are a determined and desperate minority, and their success in wresting the party from the very powerful forces Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, and Eisenhower represent is a little frightening.

Extremism

But the welfare state has by now sunk its roots too deeply into American society to be abolished by the anachronism called Goldwater. There is scarcely a proposal he can make for cutting federal spending that will not lose him votes somewhere. Moreover, the American public possesses a constitutional distaste for "extremism" of any kind ("whether of the right or left" such is the classic expression. Such phrases do not bear much analysis, but their rhetorical influence is beyond question.) And if nothing else, the Republican moderates at San Francisco succeeded in associating the name Goldwater with the label "extreme."

The great danger is not that Goldwater can come close to defeating Johnson in the elections. But rather that his very candidacy will agitate, for the space of several months, the wrath and frustration of many of the most benighted elements in American society. No doubt they will realise that Goldwater represents their last fling at political success, and this will heighten their anxiety. These elements include such violencemen a loose network of small armed

industrial founding fathers. AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph) and DuPont and General Motors, Standard Oil has become institutionalised wealth; it is one of those great corporations which has had over the years a fundamental and formative influence upon public policy and character, and which is so old and so entrenched it is indistinguishable in the minds of most Americans from the Post Office and the Army as a permanent national institu-

Goldwater on the other hand is a small

... vs. Antsy Pants

retail businessman, a department store owner, who is the voice and cause of every gas station and hardware store proprietor in America as he struggles to survive amid the stifling bigness of the industrial unions, the major corpora-tions, and the tax burdens of the federal government. Several years ago the Senator designed and marketed a little gimmick called "Antsy Pants": a pair of men's shorts covered with big crudely drawn insects. It was, so the report goes, a real seller . . . for a season. No doubt there are thousands of grim-faced, would-be millionaires bending over the drawing boards and work benches in cellars and garages all over the country, sweating to find a similar novelty that will make a fast and profitable flash in the pan. And of course there are still neat little fortunes to be made by the hustler who can find and exploit before it closes some interstice in the impacted, oligopolised economy. Such fellows are all that survive of the primitive American capitalism of eighty years ago, the backyard inventors and fast operators who could transform their grit and determination into a major fortune; one fast killing in oil or steel or railroads could in those days parley a determined risk into a basic industry. Such opportunities come to only one or two generations in each society's economic history, and then the field closes. The entrepreneurial function, in Schumpeter's phrase, grows obsolete. And for every struggling amateur who comes up with a marketable pair of Antsy Pants, there are a dozen, brilliant, young organisa-tion men researching and developing the basic inventions of the new economy in the great industrial laboratories that hold the more expensive and sophisticated equipment than Thomas Edison ever dreamed of.

By far the most amusing and instructive feature of the Goldwater campaign was the insistence of its leaders that Nelson Rockefeller simply did not understand and could not be true to that linchpin of America's spiritual heritage: the freeenterprise system. A Rockefeller in- is the grim, simplistic vision of the would spend 85% of its revenues on war- fruitful and discriminating social criti-

from distintegration. They associate the forthing it barry doldwater carrying a federal government with the greater business community in a partnership that aims at rationalising and stabilising the system. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that Henry Ford II, in the face of a Goldwater nomination at San Francisco, should throw his support to Lyndon Johnson. Nor that so many New York bankers and brokers should be so thoroughly disinterested in a change of administration.

businessman, the great trade unions which conveniently regulate the labour supply of the major industries are a towering threat. The welfare state, with believe that Goldwater would not have its hunger for taxes, is the parasitic creature of free-loaders and wastrels. when his name was placed in nomina-And the claims of the poor and the outcast are a danger to his property values band struck up was the Air Force and social status. All combine in his mind to become a growing menace to the security he has personally struggled to achieve, and which he risks daily. For this there is only one name foul enough, and that is "Socialism," which is, as every patriot knows, but one short step from the ultimate degradation of Communism.

Co-existence

It is, too, a Rockefeller, living in the era of matured capitalism, that has seen corporate profits rise to all-time heights, who can entertain the prospect of coexistence with the Soviet Union. Such an American settlement with the Russians is the power political analogue of a General Motors market division with Ford. Where the pursuit of monopoly may mean mutual death, better to settle for oligopoly. This does not amount to a foreign policy of generous social change and reconstruction; it merely amounts to a strong desire to keep the international boat from rocking. But, of course, to the Goldwaterite this only looks like further evidence that the "liberal" Republican is soft on Communism. And it is Communism above all, that dark projection of all things unholy and obscene, that functions as the whipping boy of the disinherited. tered to provide the votes he needs to They rant and flail at the red menace with all the desperate anger of a social class that finds its status and influence diminishing under the pressure of forces it cannot comprehend. Once this class was rigidly isolationist, but now, con- estimates that it would require an addifronted by its own obsolescence, it has tional \$6 billion per year over current magnified its sense of frustration into a global dilemma which grotesquely merges Walter Reuther, the Ford Foundation, Mao Tse-tung, the British Health Service, Fidel Castro, the New Deal, and Martin Luther King into a world-wide conspiracy, motivated by sheer sadism and dedicated to the total destruction of all human values. Such run about \$1 billion more yearly and

placard which read "Stop the Democrats." Behind him, carrying a placard reading "Stop Goldwater," was a wellbellied and obnoxious figure in top hat and tails labelled "wealthy Eastern party manipulators." The "manipulator" car-ried in his pocket a thick wad of dollars labelled: "interest on the national debt." The implication is clear enough: the bolshevik bankers of the eastern seaboard grow fat on the deficits of the welfare state. And so they do. But But from the viewpoint of the small how exactly would Goldwater have scaled down the debt? Its sources are after all, the Second World War, the Korean War, and the arms race. Perhaps we are to agreed to such military spending? Yet, tion at San Francisco, the first tune the theme: "Off we go, into the wild blue yonder." Nothing seems to make the Senator's followers prouder than his major-general's rank in the Air Force reserve. Indeed, during the convention, Goldwater got away from the crowds by going aloft in a jet fighter, to get in some reserve flying time.

> Somehow, the Senator insists, it all adds up to consistent policy. He has in the past joined the Birch Society in denouncing the income tax; but he has scarcely been one to question the size, expense, and influence of the military establishment or the primacy of a predominantly militarist foreign policy." The man who would return America to the still secure, small-town, small business, small-government milieu of the 1850s, insists at the same time on "total victory" over, "the Communists."

> If we can believe the public opinion polls, Goldwater, lacking even the support of many Republican voters, will go down to a disastrous defeat. The community he speaks for - that of the struggling small businessman, the pugnacious American Legionnaires, the welling for his property values in the face of racial integration, and the generally disgruntled - is simply too small and scat-

> The one exception to this is, of course,

*A recent budgetary analysis by the Pentagon of Goldwater's defence programme expenditures. The programme includes a \$30 billion anti-missile missile system. among other extravagances. Such an the nature and purpose of the welfare increase over-balances the Senator's proposed £5 billion annual cut in non-defence spending for farm subsidies, highway construction, education, and foreign aid. Thus, a typical Goldwater budget would capable of fidelity to capitalism! On world that structures the style and related expenses.

CELDUCIDUC LUL CALLI CITITOTII kind ("whether of the right or left" such is the classic expression. Such phrases do not bear much analysis, but their rhetorical influence is beyond question.) And if nothing else, the Republican moderates at San Francisco succeeded in associating the name Goldwater with the label "extreme."

The great danger is not that Goldwater can come close to defeating Johnson in the elections. But rather that his very candidacy will agitate, for the space of several months, the wrath and frustration of many of the most benighted elements in American society. No doubt they will realise that Goldwater represents their last fling at political success, and this will heighten their anxiety. These elements include such violenceminded groups as the American Minutemen, a loose network of small, armed squads of super-patriots who are convinced that a Johnson victory will mean a communist take-over. To these elements Goldwater has given his unqualifield approval: "Extremism in the defense of liberty," so went his acceptance speech, "is no vice." One cannot help but to feel this is a vastly irresponsible remark to drop within ten months of the assassination of a President. (It is noteworthy, in this respect, how many assassination and bomb threats Goldwater's opponents, Scranton and Rockefeller, received in the course of their campaigns against the Senator.) It is bound to be an ugly three months from here to November.

But beyond this, it is clear that Goldwater's campaign can only make the policies of the Johnson administration seem moderate, responsible, and progressive by contrast. Goldwater may finish by cutting his own throat on the issue of Vietnam, for his only option seems to be that he propose the Koreanisation of the war. To be sure, there are many in America who are angered and frustrated by the continual reports of setbacks and casualties in S.E. Asia. But to-do retired, the small householder fear- they will not vote to replace casualty rolls of two or three a week with casualty rolls of 2,000 or 3,000 a week. The Eisenhower years were based on the premise that Korean wars are political suicide and that was no doubt correct. It will not be difficult for Lyndon Johnson to cast Goldwater in the role of warmonger and, by contrast, his own policy in Vietnam will become more acceptable as the only alternative to another Korea.

So, too, nothing in America's national life needs greater critical discussion than state. But if the alternative to "big government" is Goldwater's latter day social Darwinism, then the welfare state will appear all the more inevitable and respectable. And millions will cling to it with a tenacity of mind that will make cism all the more difficult.

Second death at Bundeswehr paratroop school

Andrew Trasler writes: Almost one year avoided except "in order to achieve after Gert Trimborn, a 19-year-old recruit some specific aim" and then for not in the German army died after a forced more than 100 yards. The company march during a heat wave, another commander and three NCOs have since recruit has collapsed and died under been relieved of their posts for dissimilar circumstances. Both recruits were undergoing preliminary training at the *Bundeswehr* paratroop school at Nagold in the Black Forest. Trimborn's death revealed the brutality of some of the training methods and several NCOs were sent to prison for degrading treatment of subordinates. The paratroop company was disbanded and the Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr, Gen. Foertsch, declared his intention of "cleaning up" Nagold.

On July 16 a party of conscripts, most of whom had been in the army for only 16 days, left the barracks at 7 a.m. for training. After 7½ hours - including refreshment breaks - in the blazing sun, the group was marched back two miles to the barracks. The temperature was 92 deg. F in the shade, but in spite of this, the recruits were ordered to run almost 1,000 yards, wearing steel helmets and carrying heavy packs. Shortly before the soldiers reached the barracks, 20-year-old Anton Deigl collapsed and was taken to the sick bay. He did not regain consciousness and died 9 hours later. It transpired that Deigl had previously complained of feeling unwell. but after resting he was allowed to retain his platean. It appears that it was join his platoon. It appears that it was normal practice for a medical orderly to examine recruits who became unwell to prevent zealous soldiers rejoining the exercise before they were fit, but Deigl had been allowed to rejoin the group without any medical inspection.

Last June, one month before the first fatality, an order had been issued to all army units about duty during extremely hot weather. After Trimborn's death, the order was brought to the attention of all officers and has been repeated since, although apparently the NCOs at Nagold were not aware of it. The order specifically states that running during training in hot weather is to be

obeying the order.

The West German military ombudsman, Vice Admiral Heye has stated on several occasions that the physical condition of many conscripts is bad and has suggested that the first four weeks of mili-tary training be devoted to physical training. The state prosecutor is studying the case to decide whether any action should be taken but a storm is brewing at the fact that orders are not passed on to those who are to carry them out.

CONFERENCE

The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief is holding a conference on the theme "Britain's role in the developing world" at Wadham College, Oxford, from September 21-24.

A panel of lecturers will speak on various aspects of the world fight against hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. The needs of the developing nations, aspects of world trade and the problems of overseas aid programmes will be discussed. The aim of the conference is to provide a meeting-ground for people with an interest in these problems and to try to find out whether the efforts of individuals and organisations could be made more effective.

Among the lecturers will be: Sir Herbert Broadley, a member of the UK Committee of UNICEF; Ritchie Calder, journalist and author; L. A. Latham-Koenig, deputy chairman of UNA Economics Committee; Norman Pirie, FRS.; and John Anderson of the Food and Agricultural Organisation, Rome.

Conference fees, which include accommodation and meals in the College, are 8 guineas per person. The Conference Secretary is Patrick Early at Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford.



A small Negro boy offers a piece of popcorn to a policeman in Harlem.

Staying alive report

A report of the conference on the theme "The Economics of Staying Alive" which was held in Manchester on July 18 and

Algerian Peace Committee

19 has been prepared by the organising David Hicks reports: A "Conference for that a mass movement against the bomb the North West Region of the Denuclearisation of the Mediter-may be started here next year.

Important new peace literature

Last June, one month before the first fatality, an order had been issued to all army units about duty during extremely hot weather. After Trimborn's death, the order was brought to the attention of all officers and has been repeated since, although apparently the NCOs at Nagold were not aware of it. The order specifically states that running during training in hot weather is to be

pert Broadley, a member of the OK Committee of UNICEF; Ritchie Calder, journalist and author; L. A. Latham-Koenig, deputy chairman of UNA Economics Committee; Norman Pirie, FRS.; and John Anderson of the Food and Agricultural Organisation, Rome.

Conference fees, which include accommodation and meals in the College, are 8 guineas per person. The Conference Secretary is Patrick Early at Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford.

A small Negro boy offers a piece of popcorn to a policeman in Harlem.

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Staying alive report

A report of the conference on the theme "The Economics of Staying Alive" which was held in Manchester on July 18 and 19 has been prepared by the organising. group, the North West Region of the

policy has been neglected recently and because the theme of the conference was of special concern to trade unionists in Algiers. and that it would help CND to build up Although, as a journalist, I was not

Over 40 people attended the conference, of Railwaymen, and Barrow and Stockport Trades Councils, as well as CND delegates from London, Nottingham and the North West Region.

The conference was divided into three main sessions. The first session was taken up with the nature of the problem as it affects CND, especially the problem of Polaris. The second session dealt with the practical aspects of the change-over from a war economy to a peace economy, including a discussion on the problems involved in the aircraft industry. The last session dealt with wider aspects of policy, including positive neutralism and economic planning for peace.

Copies of the conference report and of the papers which were produced for discussion at the conference are available from North West Region CND, 14 Tib Lane, Manchester, 2.

A demonstration will be held on the occasion of the Trades Union Congress in Blackpool on September 6, organised by North West Region CND.

It is planned that participants should assemble in Gynn Square, North Shore, In Capetown on July 22 Mr Alan Brooks, at 3 p.m. and march to a mass meeting a Capetown University lecturer, was deon the South Shore.

Full information can be obtained from North West Region CND, 14 Tib Lane, Manchester, 2.

Algerian Peace Committee

David Hicks reports: A "Conference for that a mass movement against the bomb the Denuclearisation of the Mediter-Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, ranean Basin" was held in Algiers from The conference was organised because it was felt that this aspect of CND's the newly-formed Algerian Peace Committee, whose permanent secretariat is, incidentally, in the "Bureau Politique"

its TU contacts in the area. Also it was allowed to visit all the sessions, I formed hoped that this conference would spur the impression that the Algerian Peace discussion on this economic theme at Committee, and many other national the forthcoming Trades Union Con- committees taking part, have little in common with our own conception of peace organisations. Speeches were full including representatives from the of polemics and many delegates appeared Draughtsmen's, Woodworkers' and Fire to be advocating "peace through war Brigades' Unions, the National Union against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism." Britain was represented (?) by a delegate from the British Peace Committee, though there was also a representative from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation - Ralph Schoenman, whom your correspondent found somewhat difficult to interview and to converse with.

Little appears to have been said at the conference about the French atomic testing centre in the Sahara; I gather

S. Africa arrests

Mrs Norma Kitson, aged 30, a white mother of two, was detained under the 90-day "no trial" law in Johannesburg on July 22, The Guardian reported last Friday. This was exactly a month after her husband was held under the same

Mr Ian Kitson, an engineer, was the first known to have been detained in the recent series of security sweeps. About fourteen women have now been detained.

On July 9 Mrs Kitson took part in a demonstration by relatives of "90-day Johannesburg.

tained under the 90-day law and security police raided the home of Mr Ruan Maud, former regional secretary of the Institute of Race Relations.

may be started here next year.

The conference issued an appeal which said that "The Mediterranean, crossroads of three continents, is also the crossroads of all political, social, and ideological doctrines. It is also distinguished by an upward evolution in these very economic, social and cultural affairs. These special features bestow on the Mediterranean a special role in the field of international security. The denuclearisation of this zone will contribute to the movement for general disarmament and be a decisive step towards world denuclearisation . . . In this context, the Conference fully supports the struggles of all continents for their independence and for denuclearisation.'

SWISS JETS

Andrew Trasler writes: The affair of the Mirage III BS jet fighters which have been ordered for the Swiss Air Force and which are too fast to use (Peace News, April 10, 1964) has now assumed the proportions of a national scandal. The planes were originally to cost 827.9 million Swiss francs (£78.5 million), but because of alterations which the Air Force wanted, the price has risen to over £83 million and the delivery date has been set back three years. Even high military officials are critical of the Government for even thinking of buying aircraft which, because they fly too fast, will be useless. The ex-commander of the Swiss Air Force, Major Hugo Karnbach, said: "One doesn't buy a racing car to move furniture with." A satirist said on Zurich radio that one single plane would cost as much as 18,687 cows. The Federal Parliament was asked to approve detainees" outside the City Hall in a supplementary estimate of £48 million, with the promise of a third estimate "of an unknown figure" still to come but decided instead to set up a commission to examine the whole affair. A decision whether to scrap the deal or to purchase the planes will not be made until the committee has reported.

Teodor Shanin APPROACHES TO RUSSIA Was Stalin Really Necessary? by Alec account of non-economic, particularly in the East and West alike, and is spelt. In his essays on the use of literature and

Nove. (Allen and Unwin, 35s.)

The reviewing of a collection of essays is quite different from the usual reviewing of a book. Being more many-sided and complex, the collected essays open up an immense number of possible approaches and questions. Any summary or classification leaves us with an annoying feeling of the omission of important parts.

The recent book by Professor Nove contains seventeen of his papers published during the last five years. The scope is wide. The content makes it into a small encyclopaedia of the Khrushchev stage in the development of Soviet society. The analysis is focused on the problems and alternatives of future growth.

The major theme running through all the papers is the problem of the economic rationality and planning of Soviet Stalin period, with its absolute and ruthless concentration on a few priorities, its rigid and centralised planning, the given situation. its stubborn challenging of facts and its heavily paid spectacular successes, left a new industrialised and mighty Russia. The old system of organisation and planning could no longer cope with the new economic reality of the numerous intercrossing priorities, the rapidly increasing heterogeneity of production, with the new wishes and new possibilities.

The more efficient use of resources became a growing necessity. The old policy of theory and planning developed into the bottle-neck of economic growth. mains wide open. This in turn led to a sharp discussion need to use "real" prices as the major indicators of efficiency became increasingly clear. The "liberals" put forward various proposals for semi-market relations in the context of general flexible planning. Their views both interrelated and clashed with the propositions for nation-wide computer planning. The need for the increase of economic ration

influence of Marxist ideology, political self-image and interest of the party apparatus on the Soviet social and economic science is full of interesting insights. Once more an over-simplified and subjectivistic picture of reality is challenged by a less superficial analy-

However, the essay "Was Stalin Necessary?" seems to be the weak point of the book. One is left with a feeling of Nove being trapped on some stage by over-deterministic thinking, which he himself so thoroughly criticises. His exposition of the problems of rapid industrialisation in the context of external dangers, poor economy, backward peasants and revolutionary self-image of the rulers is convincing. His depiction often neglected. In the essay on of the crude and rigid social structure "incentives" Nove analyses the grass at first facilitating industrialisation and economy. The war-like economy of the then later hindering its development, is individual peasant and the local party persuasive. Yet what is missing is a serious study of possible alternatives in

> (say that proposed by Lev Shanin, to national policy and the spasmodic achieve industrialisation by first invest-centralisation and decentralisation. ing in agriculture) must be evaluated. The contribution of various essays to the The balance of losses and gains, includ- study of Soviet sources must not be ing industrialisation, the deterioration omitted. The partiality, incomparability of agriculture and the annihilation of and ambiguity of Soviet published data, devoted activists must be made from the due to cold war secrecy as well as to point of view of the aims pursued. The social and cultural differences, make its actual reality of "kulak" danger must be checked. Without such studies the question "Was Stalin Necessary?" re
> to that all states a transfer and social and cultural differences, make its actual reality of "kulak" danger must study into a kind of hieroglyphology. An increasing flood of social data is peing published in the Soviet Union. Of Jerusalem. At present he is with the

amongst Soviet economists, in which the bottle-neck of Soviet economic growth. above wishful generalisations to the level

political factors. The analysis of the out boldly by Khrushchev as "a danger "Kremlinology," Nove analyses their to the building of Communism." Col- value and limitation for the study of lectivisation, the outrooting of the Soviet society. His criticism of some peasant élite and the squeezing of vil- over-keen opponents of determinism lagers for the sake of industrialisation, who have lost sight of the importance of left agriculture without its own momen- the social structure, has general methodtum. This, in fact, had to be provided ex-ological value. Yet the influence of the ternally by the party apparatus, with its ideology and political self-image of the The inadequacy of this method in the and analysed. Then by a series of highly heterogeneous and personalised studies on Soviet wages, prices, welfare agricultural production was bitterly services, use of manpower etc., Nove proved, causing continuous tension.

Nove gives a broad account of Soviet agriculture under Khrushchev, its initial great leap of success, followed by stagnation and the policy pursued. Once more a promising direction of study seems to be the analysis of micro-economics so root of production on the level of the apparatus. The clash of aims, mentalities and values between the peasant 'underworld" and the party organisers, The probable results of different policies lies at the roots of the problems of

The use and correct understanding of Agriculture has become another major this data is a prerequisite for rising

methods of pressure and campaigning. leaders on real politics is acknowledged amply proves the possibility of serious factual study in which "errors there must be, but there is no conscious bias." An analysis and interpretation of this kind is open to criticism, yet this much needed discussion is provided with an impressive starting-point.

> The advantage of the scholar over the technician is the understanding of the limitations of his own trade. In spite of a lively style, Nove's book sometimes provides difficult reading. It lacks easy answers and neat all-inclusive models. Every topic discussed leaves the reader with new queries. Time and again one finds oneself arguing points with the author. There is complexity and ambiguity which stems not from lack of pedagogical skill, but from a closer touch with the richness of reality.

> Centre for Russian studies at Birmingham University, reading for a PhD on "The Peasantry as a political factor in the Russian revolution."

Stanley Mitchell

Automatic Pavalution

te ord system of organisation and planning could no longer cope with the new economic reality of the numerous intercrossing priorities, the rapidly increasing heterogeneity of production, with the new wishes and new possibilities.

The more efficient use of resources became a growing necessity. The old policy of theory and planning developed into the bottle-neck of economic growth. This in turn led to a sharp discussion amongst Soviet economists, in which the need to use "real" prices as the major indicators of efficiency became increasingly clear. The "liberals" put forward various proposals for semi-market relations in the context of general flexible planning. Their views both interrelated and clashed with the propositions for nation-wide computer planning. The need for the increase of economic rationality in the allocation of resources became a matter of general agreement and concern all over the Soviet Union.

In the meantime, by endless reorganisation, the politicians tried to solve the everyday problems of management of production. Because of the lack of any objective index of priorities, apart from orders coming from the centre, decentralisation did not give the expected results. The following re-centralisation left the main problems unsolved. The whole structure seems to be going through the birth pangs of some radical solution not yet fully explicit.

In addition to a broad and lively exposition of the facts both objective and subjective, Nove provides a thorough study of the problems involved. The meaning of rationality is discussed in all its complexity and variety with respect to aims and frames of reference. The analysis of economic growth rises above the oversimplified models of purely market versus purely planned society. The study of the Soviet micro-economics (factory, collective farm) is one of the best analyses of this problem we have, providing us with an important tool for menta to modernisation and centralisathe understanding of contemporary Soviet economic history. The study of the economic growth of

St. Christopher School Letchworth

Soviet society is supplemented by an

A school community of some 400 boys and girls (between 5 and 18 years) and 100 adults practising education on sane and successful modern lines.

Applications now being considered for next year

ing in agriculture) must be evaluated. The contribution of various essays to the The balance of losses and gains, includ- study of Soviet sources must not be ing industrialisation, the deterioration omitted. The partiality, incomparability of agriculture and the annihilation of devoted activists must be made from the point of view of the aims pursued. The actual reality of "kulak" danger must be checked. Without such studies the question "Was Stalin Necessary?" remains wide open.

Awareness of this fact has been growing of scientific study.

and ambiguity of Soviet published data. due to cold war secrecy as well as to social and cultural differences, make its study into a kind of hieroglyphology. An increasing flood of social data is being published in the Soviet Union. The use and correct understanding of Agriculture has become another major this data is a prerequisite for rising bottle-neck of Soviet economic growth. above wishful generalisations to the level

author. There is complexity and ambiguity which stems not from lack of pedagogical skill, but from a closer touch with the richness of reality.

Teodor Shanin was educated in Russia and Poland. He is a graduate in economics and sociology from the University of Jerusalem. At present he is with the Centre for Russian studies at Birmingham University, reading for a PhD on "The Peasantry as a political factor in the Russian revolution."

Stanley Mitchell

The Automatic Revolution

Russia: a Marxist analysis, by T. Cliff. nothing. For Lenin, if we take all his been at the helm, to attempt to say Road, London N.W.1. 18s.)

Whether we can accept the claim of this book to be a Marxist analysis of Russia since the Revolution depends upon whether we are Trotskyists or not. For Mr Cliff is one. What kind of Trotskyist we are - whether we believe Russia to be a state capitalist or degenerate workers' society - is secondary, for both trends are united in laying down one path to socialism: through the social convulsions of an advanced capitalist economy.

Such, too, was the thesis of the Mensheviks, dividing them from the Bolsheviks under Lenin who, on the contrary, held that the socialist revolution might break out first in a backward country. He reasoned thus: modern imperialism had become a world system; by exporting capital (instead of commodities as hitherto) it could foster in an otherwise backward country a highly advanced, if small, industry and working class burdened by none of the impedition of the older capitalist economies; in such a country socialist consciousness would go hand in hand with national aspirations, imperialism would reveal its "weak link": the socialist revolution might well begin here. These conditions applied mutatis mutandis to Russia which, though imperialist in the old sense, had a weak capitalist class and depended heavily on foreign capital. So far the Trotskyists agree with Lenin (see Mr Cliff's analysis). Where they diverge is in their assessment of what happens if the socialist revolution should fail to spread to the metropolitan

the Trotskyists it is world revolution or 1. Part One of the present book was published separately in 1955 under the title Stalinist Russia: a Marxist Analysis.

countries with their large working

classes and long socialist traditions. For

(International Socialism, 47 Fitzroy statements on this problem during the last years of his life, that is up to 1924 when the revolutionary tide in the West had clearly ebbed, socialism would have to be built for the time being in one country, however this contradicted previous anticipations. Stalin, elaborating Lenin's view in his polemic with Trotsky. led Russia into the era of the Five Year Plans. At this period Stalin still held that socialism in one country could only be finally safeguarded by revolution on a world scale. It was much later that he propounded the theory of Communism in one country which, counter to traditional Marxism, was to preserve, indeed strengthen the state.

> If Mr Cliff repudiates Menshevism for regarding the Russian economy and the Russian revolution in isolation from the world imperialist system, his own theory of world revolution orients itself just as much on the advanced capitalist countries. His book therefore raises implicitly the important question of what chances there are for socialism in the insurgent countries of the Third World. It raises the further, more general question of how determinist a philosophy Marxism is. Thus, if a socialist revolution is ipso facto impossible in a backward country, unless revolutions occur in the advanced countries, then the freedom fighter might as well give up in advance. For all that faces him is to become either member or victim of a bureaucracy which has the" historical mission" of implementing capitalism until the time is ripe for a proper socialist revolution.

> Is Marxism determinist in this way? It is significant that Mr Cliff scarcely discusses the role of ideas and personalities in Soviet history, as if they did not matter against the irrevocable laws of economics. But it is important to ask how different Soviet history might have been had someone other than Stalin

what is necessity, what accident, what is likely accident, what unlikely. It is important above all to examine the faiths and sentiments of Soviet people.

Mr Cliff reduces the richness of Soviet development to the following ineluctable pattern: out of a weak workers' state arose a bureaucracy which, by forced labour and unparalleled privation, extracted from a backward peasantry a modern, homogeneous working class, capable of throwing this same bureaucracy off its back and creating a truly socialist society (the last chapter is headed The Coming Revolution). Certain details of this process, particularly the nature of state capitalism, are argued with some sophistication, and backed up by lucid summaries of classical Marxist economic and social theory. But notwithstanding, the process is as automatic as that. Determinism of this kind makes for highly selective evi-

Mr Cliff's picture is monochrome and, apart from the Marxist apparatus, differs little from many non- and anti-socialist accounts of the Soviet Union. We learn nothing of the conscious heroism, idealism of the Soviet people without which industrial giants such as Magnitogorsk could never have been built. tragedy of the Stalin period in which socialist self-sacrifice and faith were so inextricably mixed with grotesque brutality and mental perversion, a tragedy which Soviet writers today are trying to piece together, passes Mr Cliff by.

The emergence of a state capitalist bureaucracy as a historically necessary ruling class is too easy, simplifying, rigid an explanation for these interlocking contradictions.

Stanley Mitchell is a lecturer in the Department of Russian Language and Literature, University of Birmingham.



"... from my angle this war was like an ageing actress: more and more dangerous and less and less photogenic," Robert Capa

These photographs are taken from "Images of War," a collection of works by Robert Capa, published by Paul Hamlyn Ltd, price 4 guineas. The photographs deal with war, but they are more than just a catalogue of horrors. In the words of John Steinbeck, who wrote the preface to this book: "Capa's pictures were made in his brain - the camera only completed them. You can no more mistake his work than you can the canvas of a fine painter. Capa knew what to look for and what to do with it when he found it. He knew, for example, that you cannot photograph war because it is largely an emotion. But he did photograph that emotion by shooting beside it. He could show the horror of a whole people with the face of a child. His camera caught and held emotion."

CAPA'S IMAGES OF WAR



from my angle this war was like an ageing actress: more and more dangerous and less and less photogenic." Robert Capa

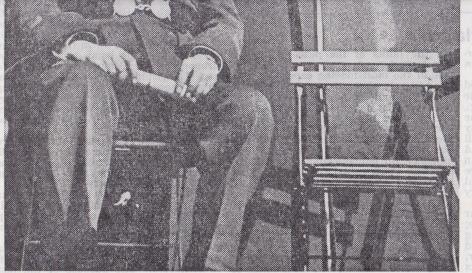
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Left, Bastille Day, Paris, 1937 Below, English fighter pilot, 1941

Letter to the Editor

Just fifty years ago, on August 5, 1914, One vital part of this story, however, World War One began. No doubt we shall now see an intensification of the part dealing with struggle and some-efforts of writers, editors and publishers to remind us of its heroisms and its





completed them. You can no more mistake his work than you can the canvas of a fine painter. Capa knew what to look for and what to do with it when he found it. He knew, for example, that you cannot photograph war because it is largely an emotion. But he did photograph that emotion by shooting beside it. He could show the horror of a whole people with the face of a child. His camera caught and held emotion." I mort momentupe visitlim

Left, Bastille Day, Paris, 1937 Below, English fighter pilot, 1941

Letter to the Editor

efforts of writers, editors and publishers times heroism, not in the face of the to remind us of its heroisms and its enemy of foreign fields, but in the face stupidities.

NO APPEAL

If you were to write this appeal, what would you write?

Probably you would praise Peace News and lament the expenses involved in its production. That would be my line too. There is much to praise and a lengthy depressing list of expenses.

I want you to write it in your own mind. Perhaps you might stumble upon some and will be appreciated.

and more two tog TOM McGRATH

total since February 1

contributions this week £32 0 0 we need £5000 by February 1965 Please send cheques etc to the treasurer payable to Peace News 5 Caledonian Road London N1

Just fifty years ago, on August 5, 1914, One vital part of this story, however, World War One began. No doubt we has so far suffered neglect. This is the shall now see an intensification of the part dealing with struggle and someof established authority at home: the story of opposition to the war.

> In voicing a political or moral objection to the war, 69 men died in Britain alone and 39 were driven insane, according to records compiled by the No Conscription Fellowship in 1919. We ourselves had our periods in prison. It is time the full story were told.

We are therefore appealing to our fellow objectors to come forward with letters, diaries, photographs, documents But I am not going to write this appeal. and personal reminiscences. These should be sent to David Boulton, who has been commissioned by Messrs. good reasons for contributing to the up-keep of the paper. If you do, write your reasons down, read them, then send your contribution. It is very much needed be copied and returned immediately.

> We ourselves are offering Mr Boulton every possible assistance, for it is fitting that the story of resistance to World War One should be told by one who, as a journalist and editor of CND publications, has been active in the resistance to World War Three.

Bertrand Russell, and the moiting the Plas Penrhyn, Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth, Wales.

Fenner Brockway, mode and mozers House of Commons. London S.W.1.



RESISTERS' COUNCIL MEETING

conference on non-violence to take place underdeveloped countries, at present in 1966 were drawn up at the Council cheated of the benefits of aid by the meeting of the War Resisters' Inter- increasing prices of the raw materials national when it met in Mainz, Germany, which they produced. last week.

educationalists, planners and other ex-sisters' International, spoke of the aims perts are being asked to contribute of the organisation and of their concern their knowledge and experience to this at the increase in international tension attempt to explore the conditions upon arising from the mobilisation of civilian which a future full of hope and free populations which has already begun in from war can be based," said a press statement issued by the Council at the close of its four-day meeting.

The Council also reviewed the plans for an international campaign against the NATO multilateral force, and stated:

'The WRI is categorically opposed to all armaments and all preparations for war. However, it feels compelled also to act against particular strategic developments which present an immediate threat to world peace. The Council considers the establishment of the force has created a grave situation which can lead only to an intensification of the cold war in Europe and inevitably encourage the spread of nuclear arms."

The campaign is to culminate in mass demonstrations on three consecutive days in London, Rome and Bonn - international contingents being transported from one capital to another by charter plane. The plans for this campaign were adopted at the meeting of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in Florence last June (Peace News, July 10). The preparatory work is in the hands of the CND in Britain and Germany and the Consulta della Pace in Italy. The Council called upon WRI sections, especially those in NATO countries, to consider what action they can take to make the campaign a decisive

The press statement was made at a wellattended press conference in Frankfurt an hour before a public meeting organ. Dennis Gould writes from an intering the faults of the peace groups in ised by Frankfurt War Resisters and national work camp and seminar in this respect. attended by over 400 people who heard Switzerland: Danilo Dolci speak on the impetus for Although Switzerland is a recognised his work in Sicily - his conscientious objection to military service in Italy.

Although Switzerland is a recognised neutral country it receives most of its military equipment from the West, e.g.,

leader, Dr Heinz Kloppenburg, in a above all other things. There is still forceful speech which drew resounding no law for conscientious objection, and applause from the audience as he

Hugh Brock reports: Plans for a world stressed the need to give real help to some countries.

"Social scientists, political thinkers, Harold Bing, chairman of the War Re-

They had noted the difficulties faced by the German WRI in view of the proposed emergency laws.

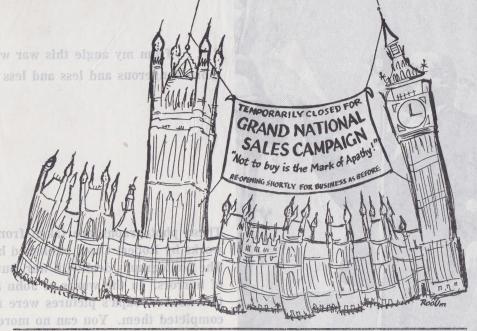
"The WRI believes these proposals involve a serious diminution of the rights of German citizens as well as being a form of militarisation and psychological preparation for war which greatly increases the war danger in Europe.

"The WRI encourages its German sections, and the German people generally, to oppose this development by all possible means and urges its sections elsewhere to give any help possible."

The Council meeting heard Pierre Martin speak on his rural community development work in Senegal, and members were shocked and angered when he produced a glossy illustrated booklet, published by the Press and Information Service of the West German Government, glorifying the German army, which was being distributed in African countries, presumably, he suggested, to encourage them to buy arms from Germany. Referring to this booklet in their statement to the German press, the WRI said:

This encouragement to buy arms from Germany not only contributes to the militarisation of Africa and the increase of tension, but also means that the meagre resources of these countries, so much needed for social and economical development, are being diverted to the useless and dangerous

purposes of war preparations."
The Council recognised that the need in Africa was not only for direct financial aid, but also for trained men and women to work with the African people themselves. As a first small contribution to this they decided to finance the sending of one volunteer as soon as he or she could be selected.



Objectors in Switzerland

the person who refuses finds himself in prison or even accepting the service instead of rejecting the authority and the law which upholds such compulsory

service.

One of the most moving experiences related here has been that of Pietro Pinna. He was one of the first COs in Italy and received a lot of press publicity because This theme of personal responsibility Mirage fighter planes from France. The of his stand after being in the officer was taken up by the German church army is looked on as a national duty corps. This was in 1949, and though there had been others before him, his was one of the very first to be an objection on humanitarian and political grounds. This raised the issue in Italy in a way it had never been raised

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The front page of the August issue of Sanity, the journal of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, carries a picture of the American bomb crew who were responsible for the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Readers are reminded that the commander of the crew commented after the raid: "We are all in the atomic age together, and the bomb was made and dropped for the American people." We are also reminded that today in Hiroshima men and women are still dying from blood and bone cancer caused by the atom bomb raid. Nineteen years after the casualty list still cannot be finalised.

CND and the Committee of 100 are remembering Hiroshima Day, August 6, and Nagasaki Day, August 9, by actions - mainly vigils and fasts - in towns throughout the country.

London Region CND held a half-hour Next week we shall be visited by three silent vigil at the Cenotaph in Whitehall Recently a new branch of the War Swiss citizens to discuss military service last Thursday, and the Christian group

Japanese anti-nuclear split

take to make the campaign a decisive success.

The press statement was made at a wellattended press conference in Frankfurt an hour before a public meeting organ. Dennis Gould writes from an inter- ing the faults of the peace groups in ised by Frankfurt War Resisters and attended by over 400 people who heard Danilo Dolci speak on the impetus for his work in Sicily - his conscientious objection to military service in Italy. leader, Dr Heinz Kloppenburg, in a

Japanese anti-nuclear split

Japan's rival anti-nuclear bomb movements, now clearly split into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking camps, went their separate ways on August 3, according to a report in The Times last Tuesday. While Gensuikyo, as the broad Japanese peace movement is called, held a rally in Kyoto, Gensuikin, the victims' associations' ban-all-bombs group, backed by the Japan Socialist Party, held a committee session in Hiroshima itself. Gensuikin's meeting was joined by Russians, some 30 other foreign delegations and 10 peace bodies who had joined a Russian walk-out from Gensuikvo.

Fifteen thousand Gensuikyo followers were brought into Kyoto by bus from the densely populated surrounding areas for a peace march. Two thousand policemen had been mobilised after rowdyism the night before from rival factions of Zengakuren, the left-wing student federation. There were, however, no calls for

police action.

Gensuikyo, The Times report continues, was able to "indulge in an orgy of denunciation of American 'imperialism', from Vietnam to bases in Asia and Latin working. America. Opposition to nuclear testing

was almost an afterthought.'

World Conference of Gensuikyo in Ky- Claude Bourdet and Maurice Rickards. oto was called at the initiative of the The draft of a provisional descriptive Japanese Communist Party, which is memorandum is being sent for comment Maoist in character. Its platform turns and appraisal to a selected list of some on support for Chinese nuclear weapons 200 distinguished personalities in the as "the power of the people" and defields of science, sociology and philmands for the withdrawal of American osophy. The ICDP is inviting their bases from Japan and the return of

claims to speak in the name of Gen- capital, is planned to open in April 1967 suikyo, supports the Soviet position over and to run for at least six months. disarmament. The non-aligned Zengakuren campaigns on the slogans: "Oppose Chinese and French preparations for nuclear testing," "Stop the nuclear 2000. While it will necessarily feature arming of Japanese imperialism," "Re- much that lies in the field of technology veal the deceitful essence of the partial and science, the main accent of the test ban treaty" and "Create an antiwar international."

Objectors in Switzerland

national work camp and seminar in Switzerland:

Although Switzerland is a recognised neutral country it receives most of its military equipment from the West, e.g., This theme of personal responsibility Mirage fighter planes from France. The was taken up by the German church army is looked on as a national duty above all other things. There is still forceful speech which drew resounding no law for conscientious objection, and applause from the audience as he the person who refuses finds himself in prison or even accepting the service instead of rejecting the authority and the law which upholds such compulsory service.

Recently a new branch of the War Resisters' International was set up here; its secretary, Marcel Schweizer, is young and energetic. He is a folk-singer, and this year he wrote a song, L'Objecteur, which describes the feeling and effects of refusing military service. He is expecting his prison sentence at any time, since he tore up his military papers and returned them to the military depart-

René Bovard is leading the discussions on conscientious objection and radical become determined to resist military direct action at this seminar and work camp. He has given a summary of the present military and governmental situation in the world, with stress on the cold war and the persistent military thinking which ignores possible alternative means of conflict resolution and political decision-making - also mention-

MANKIND

"Mankind 2000" is the theme for a large-scale exhibition, a project on which the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace is at present

The project arose from an original idea by Robert Jungk which was later de-Peter Cadogan writes that the 10th veloped in discussion between him and

sponsorship and support for the project. The Japanese Socialist Party, which also scale spectacle in a major European

> The aim of the exhibition is seen as presenting the ordinary man with a glimpse of the possible world of the year exhibition will be on the human aspect rather than on mere mechanisation.

this respect.

lated here has been that of Pietro Pinna. He was one of the first COs in Italy and received a lot of press publicity because of his stand after being in the officer corps. This was in 1949, and though there had been others before him, his CND and the Committee of 100 are objection on humanitarian and political grounds. This raised the issue in Italy in a way it had never been raised

Next week we shall be visited by three Swiss citizens to discuss military service

and conscientious objection.

A campaign is under way to get much greater solidarity and political effectiveness in the struggle for the right of every Swiss to exemption on grounds of conscience of to choose work in Service Civil International rather than military service. It seems that there is likely who refuse military service, who opt for international voluntary service and who indoctrination - some of whom may well serve long terms of imprisonment for their determination and courage in saying what they feel should be said, even though it may go against the state.

The pacifist and direct action movement against war is growing in Switzerland; let us hope it will be given every support by friends in other countries.

Prisoners

Terry Chandler, who was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for his part in the demonstrations during the Greek royal visit last July, is due to be released from Wandsworth Prison on August 10. The London Committee of 100 is organising an all-night vigil at the prison from 10 p.m. on Sunday, August 9 until he is released, which will be about 7.30 a.m. on Monday morning. The address of Wandsworth Prison is Heathfield Road, S.W.18. Further inquiries to 13 Goodwin Street, N.4 (ARC

Those remaining in prison are Brian The exhibition, conceived as a large- McGee, ex-secretary of the London Committee of 100, in Brixton, and Pat Arrowsmith, ex-field secretary, in Holloway. They were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment following the demonstration at the Ruislip USAF base last Easter.

The London Committee would like to have news of Brian Buchan, who was thought to be in Wormwood Scrubs Prison, but about whom the prison authorities appear to know nothing.

esponsible for the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Readers are reminded that the commander of the crew commented after the raid: "We are all in the atomic age together, and the bomb was made and dropped for the American people." One of the most moving experiences re- are also reminded that today in Hiroshima men and women are still dying from blood and bone cancer caused by the atom bomb raid. Nineteen years after the casualty list still cannot be finalised.

was one of the very first to be an remembering Hiroshima Day, August 6, and Nagasaki Day, August 9, by actions - mainly vigils and fasts - in towns throughout the country.

London Region CND held a half-hour silent vigil at the Cenotaph in Whitehall last Thursday, and the Christian group of London Region in a service in South-

wark Cathedral.

The Committee of 100 have organised a national fast extending from August 6 to August 8. The purpose of the fast is to draw attention to the waste and neglect of human and material resources and to ever-increasing military expendito be an increase in the number of those ture when world poverty and hunger are also increasing.

FOOTNOTE: "Ten seconds that shook the World," a programme about the bombing of Hiroshima, will be shown on BBC TV1 on August 10 at 8.25 p.m.

Aden soldier

Trooper Trevor Upshall, one of the two soldiers who were moved from the Aden base recently for printing Committee of 100 leaflets, wrote to Peace News last week that he is trying to buy himself out of the Army.

"At the moment I am trying to buy myself out, as I have done 5 years in the Army, and have only one left to do, plus the fact that over the last 3 years I have been warned several times that I must drop CND etc. I thought I would be able to get out OK, but somebody must think that I will change my views, as they are intending to drag me off to the Far East on August 17.

"I saw the Chaplain yesterday, he said that he would see my OC, but could do very little. The point is that it will cost me £155 to get out from here. It will cost a lot extra from the Far East, and I do not think I could raise the extra cash, also once I was out there they might say I still cannot get out.

"All my friends say, 'stick it out, it is only one year' but I do not think I shall be able to do this . . . even if I do go out broke, at least I shall be a free person again after 5 years of being told not to think, just to obey orders."

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